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Learning to become a subject: A hermeneutic phenomenological study of students in a Waldorf (Steiner) school in Germany

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Learning to become a subject:
A hermeneutic phenomenological study of students in a
Waldorf (Steiner) school in Germany

By

Martyn Rawson

A thesis submitted to Plymouth University
in partial fulfillment for the degree of
Professional doctorate in Education (EdD)

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Author's declaration

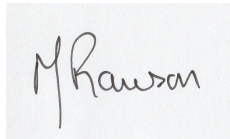
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Signed:

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in black ink. The signature appears to be 'M. Rawson' written in a cursive, slightly slanted script.

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	6
GLOSSARY OF SOME SPECIALIST TERMS	6
NOTE ABOUT LANGUAGE (S), CULTURE AND TRANSLATIONS	7
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE THEME	8
1.1 BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	8
1.2 THE BACKGROUND TO MY RESEARCH QUESTIONS	12
1.3 TENSIONS IN WALDORF MOVEMENT	14
1.4 THE ACADEMIC CONTEXT	19
1.5 BECOMING A SUBJECT THROUGH SUBJECTIFICATION	21
1.6 A PEDAGOGY OF INTERRUPTION	23
1.7 THE CONTEMPORARY EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF BILDUNG	25
CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	27
2.1 INTRODUCTION	27
2.2 SUBJECTIFICATION AND SCHOOL	27
2.3 BECOMING A SUBJECT IN A POST-FACTUAL WORLD	28
2.4 TAKING A SUBJECT-PERSPECTIVE OF LEARNING	30
2.5 A BILDUNG-PERSPECTIVE ON LEARNING	34
2.6 NON-PSYCHOLOGICAL EMPATHY AND BECOMING A SUBJECT	35
2.7 A SOCIAL ONTOLOGY OF LEARNING	37
2.8 APPRENTICESHIP	38
2.9 LEARNING IN COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE	41
2.10 LEARNING AS BECOMING	44
2.12 LEARNING CULTURES	46
2.12 WALDORF SCHOOL CULTURES AND SCHOOL HABITUS	47
CHAPTER THREE: THE RESEARCH DESIGN	52
3.1. EPISTEMOLOGY	52
3.2 INTENTIONALITY	53
3.4 ORGANIZING IDEAS	54
3.4 THE SAMPLE	54
3.5 RESEARCH ETHICS	56
3.6 THE DATA COLLECTION	62
3.7 THE ANALYSIS OF THE NON-VERBAL DATA	69
3.8 ANALYSIS OF THE GRAPHICS	70
3.9 THE ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS	70
3.10 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE FINDINGS AND THE RIGOUR OF THE STUDY	73
CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION OF THE DATA AND ANALYSIS	75
4.1 OVERVIEW	75
4.2 ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST GRAPHIC	75
4.3 ANALYSIS OF THE SECOND GRAPHIC	75
4.4 THE META-THEMES	76
4.5 ANALYSIS OF THE META-THEMES ACROSS THE CASES	77
4.5.1 COHERENCE OF THE BIOGRAPHICAL DRAWINGS	77
4.5.2 ABILITY TO POSITION THEMSELVES	79
4.5.3 PUTTING YOURSELF IN ANOTHER'S POSITION (EMPATHY)	79

4.5.4 NARRATIVE LEARNING, NARRATIVE QUALITY AND EFFICACY	80
4.5.5 BIOGRAPHICAL AWARENESS	86
4.5.6 RESILIENCE AND SUBJECTIFICATION EVENTS	87
4.5.7. ECOLOGICAL AGENCY	90
4.5.8 HAVING ASPIRATIONS- DIRECTION OF LEARNING	93
4.5.9 NON-FORMAL LEARNING SPACES	94
4.5.10 SCAFFOLDED REFLECTION	95
4.6 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS	102
4.6.1 SOJOURNING.	104
4.6.2 REAL-LIFE SITUATIONS	106
4.6.3 APPRENTICESHIP AS PARTICIPATORY LEARNING	107
4.6.4 ALIENATION AND SPACES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERSON	109
CHAPTER FIVE: REFLECTIONS AND OUTCOMES	111
REFERENCES	114
APPENDICES	134
APPENDIX 1. NUMBER OF WEEKS WHEN STUDENTS ARE NOT IN REGULAR LESSONS	135
APPENDIX 2 (CHAPTER 2 QUOTE FROM TRANSCRIPT 6)	136
APPENDIX 3 EXAMPLES OF CONSENT FORMS	137
APPENDIX 5 TRANSCRIPT NO. 13: INTERVIEW WITH A TEACHER	143
APPENDIX 6 BIOGRAPHIC DRAWINGS OF THE PARTICIPANTS	150
APPENDIX 7. EXAMPLES OF GRAPHICS ONE AND TWO	162
APPENDIX 8 THREE EXAMPLES OF TRANSCRIPTS OF THE INTERVIEWS, NATURAL MEANINGS AND THE ANALYSIS INTO THEMES. THE DATA SETS ARE FROM Nr.3 PER, Nr. 6 MAYBRITT AND Nr.12 CELINA	166
APPENDIX 9 LETTERS FROM THE TWO EXTERNAL JUDGES	224
APPENDIX 10. THREE EXAMPLE OF WRITTEN REFLECTIONS WRITTEN BY ADELE, MAYBRITT AND NICOLA	225

Abstract

Learning to become a subject: A hermeneutic phenomenological study of students in a Waldorf (Steiner) school in Germany

Martyn Paul Rawson

The central aim of Steiner pedagogy includes enabling young people to develop as persons, to become socially responsible subjects capable of contributing constructively to society (Steiner, 1985) and the curriculum used in Waldorf (Steiner) schools is designed to support this process (Richter, 2016). This study focuses on the first of these aims, which I refer to as learning to become a subject, drawing on Biesta's notion of subjectification. This inquiry seeks to understand how a group of a dozen nineteen-year-old students in a Waldorf school in Germany actually experience this. The study is set against the background of my concern that this aspect of learning is being marginalized in the upper school (age 14 to 19) by an increasingly one-sided focus on learning to pass exams.

In this study I seek to interpret representations of the lived experiences of some students at the school in which I teach. These accounts were co-constructed through interaction with me as researcher. The students were asked to represent their experiences of learning and personal development in and through school-related learning situations. Qualitative, non-verbal, artistic methods (Leitch, 2006) and semi-structured interviews (Kvale and Brinkman, 2008) were used, as well as some texts the students had previously written as reflections.

The data were analyzed as individual cases using a phenomenological hermeneutic approach inspired by Gadamer (Gadamer, 2013) and van Manen (van Manen, 1990) and then a grounded approach (Corbin and Holt, 2011) was used to construct common themes across the cases. Samples of the translations were judged as reliable and the data analysis as plausible by two appropriately qualified external academics. The study takes a constructionist perspective and draws on social practice theory (Holland and Lave, 2009), subject-scientific theory (Grotlüschen, 2014) and current phenomenological perspectives on Bildung (Faulstich, 2013, Rittelmeyer, 2012).

The findings highlight the importance of non-formal learning spaces such as work experience practicals, projects and drama productions, especially when these are supported by scaffolded reflection, for processes that can be described using the metaphor learning to become a subject. I account for this by using the theoretical construct of sojourning (learning as guided apprenticeship in landscapes of practice) (Fenton-O'Creevy et al., 2015, Rogoff, 1995). I also explore ways in which formal learning situations can also afford learning to become a subject.

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I am very grateful to the 12 young people who participated in this study for sharing their experiences with me.

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Glossary of some specialist terms

Steiner pedagogy in Waldorf schools.

Waldorf schools follow an approach based on the work of Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925), who founded the Waldorf School in 1919 in Stuttgart in Germany for the children of workers at the Waldorf Astoria Cigarette Factory (Clouder and Rawson, 2003, Lindenberg, 2013). Today there are 1,092 schools in 64 countries, 1857 early years centres in 70 countries and many special education schools and communities, as well as teacher education institutions that follow this approach (Friends-Waldorf-Education, 2017). Some of these schools call themselves Waldorf, others Steiner or have other names (e.g. the Ellen Kay School or the Goethe School). In this thesis I use the terms Steiner pedagogy in Waldorf schools, taught by Waldorf teachers using a Waldorf curriculum. The term Steiner pedagogy refers to the theory of teaching and learning that has a common source in Steiner's works. I use the term Waldorf to refer to actual schools, teachers, curriculum or the discourse (i.e. the talk, discussions, dialogue or debate about this practice).

In Germany, where the school in this study is located, Waldorf schools are state funded and thus relatively socially accessible. A recent study shows that Waldorf parents represent a slightly below average cross-section of incomes (Maurer 2016). Most cities have a number of Waldorf schools. There are currently 238 Waldorf schools with around 86,000 students in Germany (Bund-Freien-Waldorfschulen, 2017). In Germany this education is widely known as Waldorfpädagogik (Waldorf pedagogy).

Pedagogy

The term pedagogy in common usage in German (Pädagogik) is a taken-for-granted term with a similar general meaning to education. In academic terms it is often matched with didactics (not easily translated), which refers to the more technical side of teaching and monitoring pupils as well as to subject knowledge, whilst pedagogy refers more to the moral and personal aspect of teaching (Davis, 2004). Today it is also synonymous with Erziehungswissenschaft, which is the academic study of education (as in the book title Handbuch Waldorfpädagogik und Erziehungswissenschaft (Schieren, 2016b). I use the term in the sense that pedagogy comprises of the processes and actions by which teachers engage students in learning, including curriculum, assessment, relationships and the values implicit in all these (Nind et al., 2016) I also follow Nind et al (2016) in distinguishing between pedagogy as craft, as art and as science. It also means the specific understandings of social being, the relationship of the individual to social structures and the power relations that pertain in these relationships, as well as assumptions about the nature of knowing (Alexander, 2001, Alexander, 2000).

Waldorf curriculum

This refers to the way teaching and learning are organized, the methods, the activities and subjects in Waldorf schools as this is documented in various publications (e.g. (Rawson and Richter, 2000, Rawson and Avison, 2013, Richter, 2016, Götte et al., 2016). Rawson and Richter (2000) has been translated into around 18 languages and thus has a certain international authority in the Waldorf movement. Waldorf curriculum is therefore a central part of Steiner pedagogy. When I refer to the Waldorf curriculum I specifically mean the literature just cited. I will therefore not reference this at every mention, unless quoting a specific text.

Note about language (s), culture and translations

I live and work in Germany. My native language is English and I speak, read and write in German. I draw on literature in both English and in German, not all of which has been translated. The data in this study was gathered in the German language (though analyzed in English, as I explain in my research design below). Translation is always mediation, which means that it is an interpretation requiring careful cultural contextualisation, as Bourdieu pointed out (Bourdieu, 2004). Where this seems necessary I discuss the implications of the translations in the text.

I am aware of many of the issues of translation in connection with research mentioned by Ficklin and Jones (Ficklin and Jones, 2009) and Temple (Temple, 2008) and I have tried to take account of these, by providing transcriptions in German and summaries in English and having bilingual colleagues check these and two external readers who each checked the reliability of two full data sets. I have done all the translations from the German used in the text, unless they are taken from standard published translations, as indicated in the bibliography, though mostly I have paraphrased. When I felt it would be helpful to the reader I have put the German original in brackets in the text. These explanations have added somewhat to the word total of the thesis. Throughout the thesis I use the female forms of the third person singular, she and her, though all genders are included when this form is used generically.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE THEME

1.1 Brief introduction to the study

The central aim of Steiner pedagogy is to enable individuals to become socially responsible, autonomous subjects capable of contributing constructively to society (Steiner, 1985) and the Waldorf curriculum is designed to support this process (Avison and Rawson, 2014). For reasons I will be explaining, I refer to this aspect of learning as learning to become a subject. This view of learning sees it as a process of becoming (Hodkinson et al., 2007) that involves the whole human being, body and mind as co-constitutive parts of a whole and involves sustainable change over time that is not only due to biological processes of maturation (Illeris, 2014). Learning is also understood in this thesis as the formation of the person embedded in social and cultural contexts, that is, it is a process in which people form themselves whilst being shaped by the social practices they participate in, which are in turn changed by the participation of these people. As I will be explaining, this is a view of learning that draws on phenomenological perspectives on Bildung (Nieke, 2016, Faulstich, 2013) and social practice theory (Lave, 2011, Holland and Lave, 2009) and acknowledges some of the similarities between these perspectives (see section 2.5).

This study seeks to understand how a group of a dozen nineteen-year-old students in a Waldorf school in Germany actually experience this aspect of learning and thus show us what some aspects of learning as becoming a subject might look like in school-related practice. The students were asked to represent their lived experiences of learning and personal development in school-related learning situations, using qualitative, non-verbal, artistic methods (Leitch, 2006) and semi-structured interviews (Kvale and Brinkman, 2008, Kvale, 1996). Then I interpret these accounts that were co-constructed in interaction with me as researcher. I was also one of their teachers, a fact that shaped the research design in ways I will explain.

I did not take the social backgrounds of the participants into account in the study, partly because of the need to stay within the word limits and partly because I was essentially interested in the students' lived experiences. However, I will briefly outline the context. The school in the study is located in a small industrial town in Northern Germany, with a population of about 50,000, that has consistently elected social democratic politicians since 1945, in contrast to its mainly rural hinterland. In the most recent general election in 2017, the national trend towards the Alternative für Deutschland, the new right wing nationalist party, leading to them becoming the third largest party in the parliament, was absent in this town. This political orientation goes back before the Second World War, when the town was strongly anti-Nazi. Its major industry was leather and tanning and it was punished by Hitler's regime by having its government and military contracts taken away in the mid 1930s. In 1945, shortly before the end of the war, there was an uprising in the town and a people's government (a soviet) and court was set up and the leading Nazis tried and executed. This revolt was suppressed by the British Army shortly afterwards. Even today the town retains an industrial base (the harbour, shipbuilding, milling and food production), though much of the workforce commutes to the nearby large city. This information is derived from the local Industry Museum and town archives, but I withheld the name to retain anonymity of the school, since it is the only Waldorf school in the town.

The family backgrounds of the twelve students broadly reflects the school's parent body; a blend of skilled, often self-employed, 'blue-collar' workers (roofer, decorator, joiner, landscape gardener), two people with small businesses (book shop, wholefood shop), and people in social or artistic professions (teacher, a social worker, an opera singer, a doctor).

All Waldorf schools aim to be fully comprehensive, non-selective and inclusive and are open to children of all backgrounds and abilities (Waldorfschulen, 2017). Parents are asked to make a voluntary financial contribution (usually around 250 Euro per month, with reductions, where necessary and waived for people who are unemployed) but this does not generally call for major sacrifices. A recent study (Koolmann and Nörling, 2015) suggests that Waldorf parents have slightly below national average incomes. The same study showed that many parents are actively involved in the management and running of their school communities. The school in the study is no exception. Family backgrounds reflect typical patterns in Germany. Six of the participants lived in single parent families or patchwork families. The main defining character of the social backgrounds of the participants is that their parents chose the Waldorf school and they have stayed in the school for over 12 years.

The data was collected shortly before the students left school (in July 2014), while they were still embedded in the learning culture (Hodkinson et al., 2007) of the school, a term I will explain below, yet on the threshold of a major life transition from school to life after school (Ecclestone et al., 2010, Edwards, 2005). These students had been together as a group in the same class for 13 years (more if they were in kindergarten together, as several were), which is typical for Waldorf schools. They were at an age and in a life situation in which their ability to participate as an equal and responsible partner in social processes within the family, institutions and community is frequently called for, when they need to be able make choices and use the situation they are in to position and re-position themselves. This timing was also chosen, as I shall discuss in chapter three, to minimize my influence on them as a teacher and prevent this role from compromising my position as researcher.

First I asked each of them to draw a picture of the course of his or her life using paper and coloured pencils. I refer this as a biographic drawing. Then I asked them to place small labels naming the people, activities and things that were most important for their personal development on a large card with the word ME (Ich) at the centre. They were asked to place the items they deemed most important, closest to the word 'ME'. I refer to this as the positional graphic 1. Then this task was repeated in response to the question as to which school-related learning spaces were most important for their personal development. I refer to this as the positional graphic 2. In Appendices 6 and 7 there are photographs of these pictures and graphics.

Then I conducted semi-structured interviews with them. The students brought along their portfolios (Brunner, 2008, Brunner et al., 2008), which are used to document their learning and which include written reflections on their learning experiences. These were sometimes used as prompts during the interviews. I also draw on these and on more recent written reflections by other students that were written after blocks of English as a foreign language, which I teach, to illustrate the reflection process. I also interviewed a teacher to provide background information about the school's practices (the transcript is reproduced in Appendix 5).

The data were analyzed as individual cases using a phenomenological hermeneutic approach inspired by Gadamer (2013) and van Manen (1990) and then a grounded approach (Corbin and Holt, 2011) was used to construct common themes across the cases. Samples of the data analysis and translations were judged as plausible by two appropriately qualified external academics. It was not within the scope of this small-scale study to inquire into the social background of the young people involved. Nor does it compare these students' experiences with other students at this or other schools. Whilst these questions deserve attention, I felt that it was first necessary to establish an appropriate theoretical framework to understand the processes involved.

Most of the literature I drew on is based on a social understanding of the human being, has a constructionist epistemology and interpretivist theoretical stance. The study uses a constructionist epistemology (Crotty, 1998) and takes a relational theoretical perspective using social practice theory of various kinds hermeneutic phenomenology (Gadamer, 2013), a Bildung-theory approach to learning, which is also phenomenological (Nieke, 2016, Rittelmeyer, 2012), as is the neo subject-scientific approach that I draw on for understandings of expansive learning (Grotlüschen, 2014, Holzkamp, 1995, Faulstich, 2013). I draw particularly on Biesta (Biesta, 2002, Biesta, 2008, Biesta, 2009, Biesta, 2015), whose theoretical work has many roots including Deweyian pragmatism, existential phenomenology (Arendt, 1958, Levinas, 1998), hermeneutics (Ricoeur, 1992) and Foucault (Foucault, 1988, Foucault, 2005). I also draw on empirical work that Biesta has done with a number of other scholars on learning (Biesta et al., 2011, Biesta and Tedder, 2007). I am not aware of any research into learning within Waldorf practice that takes a social practice approach.

My interest in learning to become a subject is prompted by my concern that there is a growing tendency in Waldorf secondary education to privilege learning related to exams and neglecting other aspects of learning. To my knowledge, the importance of learning to become a subject is not actually being questioned by teachers, rather I see an unintended and mostly unnoticed shift in the learning culture in Waldorf schools that in turn reflects changes in the wider social, cultural and political environment.

I did not feel it as within my resources to investigate changing attitudes and practice across the very heterogeneous Waldorf movement in Germany, let alone looking at this issue in different countries. My work as a teacher educator regularly takes me to other countries (most recently India, China, Taiwan, Japan, South Africa, Denmark and Norway). One of the central issues in Waldorf education around the world is the extent to which this approach is being challenged by increasing regulation and standardization of education by the state. In particular, this affects the upper school, where most state exams are located. As I report below, various attempts are being made to develop new qualifications that take a wider range of learning processes into account than current exams. Such attempts- and I am involved in this work- are important. The point, however about what the philosopher Nida-Rümelin (Nida-Rümelin, 2014) calls 'qualifications-inflation-madness', is that it takes up so much learning time and resources, that the kind of learning I am referring to as learning to become a subject, gets marginalized.

Exams are not, in my view, the central issue. Whilst qualifications are apparently a necessary part of education (or at least they are not likely to disappear) and improving

them is certainly a good idea, the problem for Steiner pedagogy, in my view is more fundamental. There is a risk that learning becomes compartmentalized; this learning is for the exams; that is for the formation of the person. In my own subject, English as a foreign language, my experience is that it is possible to combine these aims. Becoming skillful in using the language, understanding the world and other people through the medium of that language- in other words, learning to participate with increasing expertise in certain communities of practice in which English is the language, is actually beneficial to getting good grades in the German Abitur exam (which enables people to attend university). In fact, I treat the final year leading to the exams as a specific practice (e.g. essay writing, text analysis).

If qualifications are seen as vital social capital and the pedagogy focuses on the outcome and sees the process only as a means to that end, then all involved may begin to lose sight of the possibilities for learning to become a subject that are inherent in all subjects in the curriculum. Waldorf literature usually refers to this as a developmental aspect of the curriculum, and means that teaching biology in a particular way (e.g. phenomenologically and experientially, relating phenomena to the learners' experience, going from the whole to the parts and integrating this into the whole again, taking an ecological and non-reductionist perspective, as the Waldorf curriculum describes) supports the development of the learner as subject. According to Steiner (Steiner, 1996a), the intention of the Waldorf School was to teach subjects in such a way that enables the development of the person's thinking, feeling and willing. He also made the point that all learning is self-learning and that the function of a school is to provide appropriate opportunities for this to occur (Steiner, 2004).

One problem that compounds the Waldorf-exam binary is the lack of a coherent learning theory in Steiner pedagogy. There is a teaching theory (outlined in most Waldorf curriculum literature) but the nature of learning is often implicit and reliant on specific Steiner terminology that is, in my experience, frequently taken-for-granted and sometimes perhaps not fully understood. There have been some important recent attempts to describe the learning theory behind Steiner pedagogy (Loebell, 2017, Schieren, 2012). Two things are missing from these accounts: an awareness of learning as a social process and a focus on learning to become a subject.

In this study I have focused on these aspects and I restrict myself to my practice within my own school, partly for practical reasons but also because I believe that practitioner research is essential to the future development of Steiner pedagogy.

My research questions are:

1. What accounts do students construct of their lived experiences of learning and personal development in school related situations?
2. What does this tell us about the process of learning to become a subject?
3. Which learning situations do they most associate with personal development and why?
4. What does this tell us about the learning culture of the school?
5. Which theories of learning can account for the processes involved?
6. What implications does this have for Waldorf practice and teacher education?

In this chapter I try to 'set the warrant' (Thomson, 2014) for the thesis, by showing why this theme is important for my field of practice and how it links to and differs from existing research. In chapter two I discuss the literature that is relevant to the study and

in chapter three I outline my research design. In chapter four I present and discuss my findings and in the last chapter I draw my conclusions and reflect on the study.

Since I use conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003) such as learning as apprenticeship (Lave, 2012) or learning as becoming (Hodkinson, et al, 2007), as theoretical tools throughout this thesis, I think it is necessary to explain here at the outset what I mean by metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 5) argue that our use of concepts depends on metaphor, which they define as “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”. As Gamble (Gamble, 2007) notes, the key word here is experiencing, since language refers not just to cognitive processes but to our experience in the world. He writes, “embodiment plays a central role in constructing metaphors...to explain a very complex material world” (2007, p. 67). He goes on to say that our bodies structure all forms of communication and meaning and are a focus for our identities.

As Cuervo and Wyn (Cuervo and Wyn, 2014) point out, metaphor is also an essential tool of social theory because it enables us “to see an aspect of social relationships that was not previously apparent, sharpening an existing focus” (2014, p. 903). However, because metaphors can shape the way we see the social world, we need to critically reflect on them to recognize their tacit assumptions (Sfard, 1998). Metaphor is “not just an adornment to cognitive expression and exposition, but can create meaning by itself” and as such, is both a political and an “ethical way of engaging the world” (Soreanu, 2010). As Sfard (1998) also points out, we not only use metaphors to explain phenomena, they also have generative roles. As ontological or constructive elements, metaphors can be used as tools to enable new ways of seeing and thinking, thus bringing forth new social phenomena whilst enabling us to make sense of some forms of social being and doing. In keeping with my constructionist perspective, I have sought to make clear when I use theoretical proposals such as ‘apprenticeship’ metaphorically, I do so by referring to it as metaphor, though I also try not to interrupt the text flow with repeated explanations.

1.2 The background to my research questions

As I have already mentioned, my concern is those aspects of learning that relate to becoming a subject. The notion of expansive and defensive learning developed by Holzkamp (Holzkamp, 1995) and more recently by Grotlüschen (Grotlüschen, 2014, Grotlüschen, 2004) distinguishes between learning motivation that comes from learners’ sense that what they are learning will open up opportunities for them to pursue their personal interests and needs, and learning that is done to avoid stress from external forces (mediated by teachers, parents, learning cultures, youth cultures, the media and so on). Defensive learning is done because you have to learn certain things; expansive learning offers the subject opportunities to experience their subjectivity and agency (Holzkamp, 1995). My experience, affirmed Gundula my colleagues, whom I interviewed (the transcript can be seen in Appendix 5), has been that almost all students are highly motivated in certain non-formal learning situations, such as work experience practicals, projects or drama productions. They appear to see these as opportunities for expansive learning (in Holzkamp’s sense rather than Engeström’s (Engeström, 2009).

These situations are non-formal in the sense that there is no direct teaching, no explicit learning content, outcomes or formal assessment (Eraut, 2000). However, the notion of

formal or non-formal learning is mainly seen from the perspective of the teacher (Straka, 2004). From the perspective of the learner, the distinction between intended and not intended learning may be more appropriate because intention is a prerequisite for transformational learning (Nieke, 2016). Nevertheless, I will use the term non-formal learning spaces as a loose category that fulfills Eraut's criteria.

Even individual projects (usually done in class 12, age 18) that take around a year to complete and which may begin with motivational problems for some students who find it hard to get started, usually end with presentations that show how transformational the process has been. As a result, such projects are highly valued by students, teachers and parents, particularly for what they show of the development of the person. What is significant about this enthusiasm for learning in non-formal settings is that neither the participation nor the outcomes have any relevance for the exams and do not 'count' towards formal qualifications. Given the social importance attached to qualifications today, this is in itself interesting.

In my school such non-formal practices have been accompanied in recent years by scaffolded (but not assessed) reflection (Moon, 1999) using journals, artistic methods (e.g. posters and presentations) and portfolios (Brunner, 2008), which focus on personal experiences of learning. Scaffolded here means that the teachers guide the students through various learning steps, for example, by giving them tasks such as recording their experiences in a journal or by posing questions. This is a form of guided participation (Rogoff, 1995), in which the method of reflection is provided as support without specifying or determining the outcome. Portfolios used as learning tools are typically characterized as containing the learner's selection, ordering and explaining of representative pieces of work and freely formulated reflection on the experience the learner has had or aspires to in the future (Koch, 2010).

I use the term practice above to refer to regular school-related activities that show most of the characteristics that Wenger (1998, p.47) lists as typical of a social practice. Those who participate in such practices may be considered as belonging to a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991, Wenger, 1998). The example of the class 12 projects is instructive, not least because, superficially it could be seen as an individual activity. This practice is organized in such a way that each student chooses a theme, researches and plans it and then carries out a practical project over the course of the school year. This is then documented in a portfolio and presented to a public audience. This can be considered a practice and those who participate can be seen as members of a community of practice because the activity is done every year, following certain routines, (even having some ritual aspects, particularly related to the presentations) and are part of the school's traditions, as well as being a distinctive and well-known feature of Waldorf schools (Boettger, 2014). The projects are part of the school curriculum and are imbued with shared expectations and assumptions and have a theoretical basis. The practice has been the subject of a recent academic study (Brater et al., 2010), which identified the significance of this activity and its context for the personal development, skills and identity of the participants.

My school devotes nearly a fifth of its entire teaching time in the classes 8 to 12 (ages 14 to 18) to work experience and projects (see Appendix 1) during which no other subjects are taught and that about a third of those other subjects are arts, crafts and Eurythmy (an art of movement practiced in Waldorf schools) that are also outside the exam frame.

Up until now, my school has not sought to reduce the amount of non-exam provision and from class groups of between 32 and 36 students, in recent years over 30 passed the Abitur, which for a non-selective school, is well above the national average of 37,6% (Bundesamt, 2017).

Of course, the social background of this particular Waldorf school has to be taken into account to put this figure into context. My point here is only that this school attains good academic results and invests considerable time in non-formal learning situations. I do not wish to make any link between good academic achievement and the amount of non-formal learning situations, not least because the former might be in spite of the latter and could be due to other factors (e.g. the school's learning culture, the parental background). The significance of this is that this study is located in a Waldorf school in which the traditional (Waldorf) balance within the curriculum has been maintained. I believe this is mainly because of the conviction of teachers, pupils and parents that the non-formal learning situations are very important for personal development, and thus are highly valued. For this reason, the school is ideal for the purposes of this study. Many other Waldorf schools have already reduced or are reducing non-exam provision due to real and imagined pressures, which in either case are debilitating, to reduce the non-exam curriculum in order to give more time to exam preparation.

1.3 Tensions in Waldorf movement

According to a book written to demonstrate how the learning outcomes in Waldorf schools relate to the statutory national standards framed as competences recently introduced in Germany (KMK, 2015), Steiner pedagogy aims to enable all students to "learn dispositions towards meaningful action (Handlungsd disposition) within the limitations and opportunities of the situation they are in" (Götte et al., 2016). Students should develop the potential to act autonomously in ways that enable them to make the best out of their circumstances, so that they can find socially responsible, personally satisfying and meaningful ways of coping with life's challenges (2016, p. 32). Given adequate opportunities, all students should be able to give their actions direction and meaning. They can learn dispositions to agency through experiences that they feel are personally relevant to them and their personal development.

Older presentations of the aims of Steiner pedagogy referred to "the healthy development in each individual child...enabling children to realize their potential...to develop the skills they need to contribute to society" (Rawson and Richter, 2000), p.7), or "Education towards Freedom", the title of a well-known book on Waldorf education (Carlgren, 1976). Freedom is taken to mean the individual's ability to act out of inner certainty. Carlgren refers to the task of education as enabling the growth and development of capabilities and resources, and removing obstacles to such growth, so that the adult can later realize these dispositions in conscious self-development and become a person who can be creative in life (Carlgren, 1976, p. 203). Despite the different terminology that has been used, this aim can be summed up as enabling young people to learn to become subjects.

Wherever public exams are required of school leavers, Waldorf schools have had to prepare their students for them (some countries such as Denmark, Norway and Finland allow students to apply to university on the basis of their Waldorf school leaving report). As I have already stated, that is actually not the problem, though the nature of the exams

has changed in ways that makes the preparation more specific, more time consuming and the learning methods required undermine or even conflict with traditional Waldorf methods of learning. However, what makes this trend even more problematic is the social value of exams and the attitudes to learning that these express today.

The trend towards learning to the test, passing exams and the way knowledge is tested has been associated by Verhaeghe (Verhaeghe 2015) with the economization of identity. He argues that there is a link between the new competence orientated school curricula and neoliberal values because they emphasize the utilitarian aspects of learning and valorize such values such as competition and individualism, and from these attitudes it is a short path to the kind of narcissism, self-gratification and consumerism promoted by advertising. Such competence-based curricula, he suggests, encourage the view that the primary purpose of learning at school is the acquisition of qualifications as a form of social capital rather than learning as a way of becoming a mature person. Such neoliberal values, he argues, are no longer the hidden curriculum; they are quite explicit in the ways schools are organized and ranked. Even if school curricula also promote social solidarity, inter-culturalism and spiritual values, Verhaeghe (2015) argues, the stronger message valorizes winners and depreciates losers, polarizes 'them' and 'us', and encourages individuals to pursue their dream whatever the actual social and ecological cost is. As Verhaeghe (2015) comments, there is no such thing as competitive solidarity.

Clearly the situation in Waldorf schools is part of wider social processes. If we look at these then we can see certain trends. Far more school students today expect to get to university than a generation ago and parents expect this too (Nida-Rümelin, 2014). Governments encourage this because the new knowledge economy requires higher levels of education and so education policy has become aligned with influential international analyzes of the needs of the global economy for developing skilled human capital, (OECD, 1996, OECD, 2012). Meyer and Benavot (Meyer and Benavot 2015) have critiqued the assumptions made by the OECD. Nevertheless, the OECD is influential. That means there are greater pressures to pass the Abitur and this undoubtedly affects Waldorf schools as well. In my school, without any obvious changes in the school's admissions practice, the teaching methods or curriculum and with a fairly constant staff, the number of students wanting to take the Abitur exam has doubled over the past ten years. This relates to what Nida-Rümelin (Nida-Rümelin, 2014) calls the academicization craze (*Akademisierungswahn*), an inflation of qualifications, by which ever higher academic qualifications are required for jobs that previously required a professional training.

This trend spans the whole educational spectrum. In higher education Liessmann (Liessmann, 2014) claims that the 'Bologna process' leading to new modular bachelor and master degrees, has exacerbated the tendency of students to learn mainly in order to accumulate credit points. He says this has created a kind of non-education (*Unbildung*, an ironic reference to Adorno's (Adorno, 2003) theory of half-education-*Halbbildung*, referring to a banalisation of learning). Lenzen (Lenzen, 2014) argues that higher education no longer enables self-formation through a general cultural education (*Allgemeinbildung*, referring to Humboldt's (von Humboldt, 2000) classic notion of the well-educated, socially responsible citizen). Instead it provides opportunities to accumulate credit points for specialized performance in largely useless activities. The new generation of students in Waldorf teacher training has been socialized in this

culture of accumulating credit points and finds this a normal part of education. The younger generation of teachers and parents tend to see grades, testing and exams as both an entitlement and as an indicator of learning attainment. This is something of a culture clash within the Waldorf 'community'.

As already indicated Waldorf schools mirror wider social developments. Following the 1968 protest movement, the rapid growth of Waldorf schools matched the growth of the ecological movement, anti-nuclear campaigning, the rise of the Green Party and feminism. This was an anti-authoritarian movement that favoured child-centred education and non-hierarchical school structures. The mood was captured by Lindenberg's best-seller (Lindenberg, 1975), with its clear message "Waldorf schools-learning without fear". This generation (of parents and teachers) and those who later founded Waldorf schools in former East Germany after 1989 were anti-authoritarian and alternative and specifically chose schools that were free of state control, though with state funding (because of the constitutional rights of parents to choose schools that fulfill the state's educational commitments as so-called Ersatzschulen, literally schools that are replacements or substitutes for state schools). This generation of teachers has retired or is soon to retire and I have the impression that the younger generation of teachers is more socialized to expect testing and accept state regulation, than earlier generations.

The 'PISA shock' struck Germany in 2001. This phrase refers to the media and policy response to Germany's unexpectedly modest ranking in the Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) tests (Hopmann 2008, Grek, 2009, Raidt 2010, Rumpf, 2006). Lewis' (Lewis 2014) comment that PISA is not only measuring education, it is governing it, can be applied to Germany. Germany responded by introducing national education standards, centralized exams and competence-based curricula (KMK, 2005, KMK, 2015, Künzli 2010). Whilst many other countries have introduced national curricula and testing regimes that have forced the Waldorf schools to adapt, the situation in Germany is mild by comparison. The main impact on German Waldorf schools is the examination system, which is based on the new competence-based standards and is centrally determined. Prior to these reforms, Waldorf schools (in fact all schools including state schools) could more or less teach their own curriculum to the end of class 12 (age 18) and the state exams could, to a large extent, be taken as a by-product of the school's (Waldorf) curriculum. However, the nature of the exams, the competences they are designed to measure and the content they cover, now mean that compromises have to be made in what is learned and how it is learned. The extent of this is contested within the Waldorf teacher community.

These exams have been centralized and standardized and this makes a huge difference because until recently teachers could set exams for their students within a given framework and this was easy for Waldorf schools to comply with whilst using topics they had covered in their own curriculum. Now these are set nationally. This has led to a major shift in teaching and learning practice because upper school teachers in the academic subjects now have to follow the state's exam syllabus. The actual impact varies from subject to subject but also to perceptions. Students wishing to study at university sit an exam in class 13 (in some federal states, class 12), so the syllabus need not be modified until the final year or at most two. However, such is the anxiety of the teachers (and pupils and parents) that tried and tested methods of learning that belong to the Waldorf approach are abandoned for teaching that relies on teaching

programmes/books produced by the publishing industry aimed specifically at the delivery of the state syllabus. This not only occurs in the exam classes but leaches back down the school into the middle school.

It is difficult to gauge how big the problem is, or indeed how widespread the perception is that the current situation is a problem at all, since there is no research on the impact of exams in Waldorf schools in Germany. We do know from a survey of some 60 schools in various European countries that practically all these schools structure their upper school teaching in relation to the exams, rather than any other pedagogical considerations (van Raemdonck and Sievers, 2015). Schneider (Schneider 2006) argued ten years ago that most Waldorf schools in Germany had already detached themselves from their traditional commitment to a curriculum focused on the development of the person and that seeks a balance between practical and theoretical learning. He accused them of having developed a one-sided approach focused on getting students into university by passing the Abitur. They have become, he says, alternative grammar schools for an educated middle-class elite. His view has not been seriously challenged.

De Vries asks if Waldorf upper schools now only orientate themselves to the norms and standards of the exams (de Vries, 2016) and Grebe argues that Waldorf schools should be more active in their advocacy for a change in the exams. (Grebe 2016). Waldorf students have the same questions. Two former Waldorf students (Hoffmann and Götz, 2016), who have just left school, complain that too few teachers have the courage to teach in a Waldorf way. They claim that their learning over the last three years at school was fairly exclusively focused on learning for the Abitur exam, an approach they say that reduced their interest, initiative and creativity significantly. They rhetorically question what the function of a Waldorf school is, if the main values they have experienced recently seem to be exclusively about competition, winning and egotism. They ask, “how shall we develop a sense for complexity in the world, when the pressure of exams prevents open discussion?” (Hoffmann and Götz, 2016, p.52). They argue that the social function of the Abitur is to control them so that the system can function efficiently and so they can learn to work and consume without asking critical questions. They make the point that the upper school in a Waldorf should focus on the development of the person and not base this on a sense of self-value won through exam achievements but rather on social engagement, reflective thinking and responsible action (Hoffmann and Götz, 2016). Their central point is that their Waldorf teachers should know better (and since their school is mentioned in the article, they will be easily identifiable).

These two former students also report on a recent conference of school representatives in the Association of Waldorf School in Germany (Bund der Freien Waldorfschulen) from 29-31 January, 2016 in Augsburg, where the topic was upper schools. They report on the lack of prominence given to the existing alternatives or the advocacy necessary for this. They noted a lack of vision and enthusiasm for change. I attended this conference and could describe in detail how teachers from 25 Waldorf schools in a workshop I attended all complained how the exams were limiting their pedagogy. In my view, the experiences Hoffmann and Götz had in their school are not unique.

At the same time, however, there is strong support from some Waldorf teachers and teacher educators, notably those who don't currently teach exam subjects, for the importance of the Abitur as evidence that Waldorf can compete with the best. Schieren (Schieren, 2016c) even recently argued that Waldorf schools gain legitimacy through

demonstrating success in the ‘gold standard’ exam the Abitur. I have witnessed a number of experienced Waldorf teachers who have argued that they (or their own children) are proud of their academic achievements and even enjoyed doing the Abitur, asserting that it did them no harm. The value of the social and cultural capital of the Abitur is evidently high among such teachers, whose identities are presumably closely linked with this identification, and teachers by definition are those, who have succeeded in the academic world (since a Master’s degree is required to be a teacher).

As an indication of the difficulties Waldorf schools have with the exam system, the Association of Waldorf Schools in Germany has funded a working group since 2006 to look into alternative ways of accrediting outcomes in Waldorf schools (Waldorfschulen, 2012). One result of this work has been a competence portfolio project (de Vries, 2011, NRW, 2017) that was scientifically evaluated with positive results (Brater et al., 2010). At the European level, the European Council of Steiner Waldorf Education also has a working group (the Diploma Project and Portfolio Certificate) looking into alternative exams (European-Portfolio-Group, 2017). One outcome of this work has been the European Portfolio Certificate, which was funded as a Comenius Project (Koch, 2010). Another outcome is the pilot project in Waldorf schools in England, Germany and Austria in which the New Zealand Steiner School Certificate (NZSSC), which is on the New Zealand Qualifications Framework, is being trialed as an alternative to the current state exams in Germany, Austria and England. I carried out a small scale piece of research in which I interviewed those teaching in this pilot project (Rawson, 2016). These teachers valued the positive attitude towards learning in their pupils, which I identify as an example of expansive learning and at least has the value of being an example of counter practice, to cite Biesta (Biesta, 1998) paraphrasing Foucault, showing that the way things are, is not the only way they can be. One of the motivations for the present study is to make some of the other ways of learning than those tested in exams visible.

Other than what has been referred to above, there is very little evidence of debate within the Waldorf movement, at least not in writing, and so it is difficult to identify contested positions. The question of the impact of exams and the possible alternatives is one of the only contested areas visible within the Waldorf community and this is a relatively minor issue. There are few formal outlets for discussion (the monthly *Erziehungskunst* magazine for parents and the biannual *Lehrerrundbrief* for teachers) and these reflect the general positivity of the people involved. Editorial policies at these publications do allow constructive criticism, though there is relatively little of this. Regarding the impact of exams, I have drawn on what published work there is. I have referred to the debates surrounding the New Zealand Certificate of Steiner Education above. In the English speaking world there are four publications, *Renewal* (for parents), *The Waldorf Research Bulletin*, *Research on Steiner Education* and the *Pacific Journal* (mainly for teachers). To my knowledge, only the latter two have published articles critical of curriculum developments in Waldorf contexts (Rawson 2016, Boland, 2017, Boland 2015, Rawson, 2017b).

In terms of curriculum reform, the Waldorf curriculum in practice is so flexible and teachers and schools are so autonomous that decisions to change the curriculum are made locally and remain largely invisible. There are no official bodies capable of insisting on any kind of orthodoxy or indeed of setting policies. There are advantages to this situation, mainly being that it allows for considerable local autonomy. The downside

is that there is little debate in writing and what contestation there is, is conducted orally. Nevertheless, there has been some interesting discussions on curriculum development in journals and blogs (see Boland, 2015, 2017 and Rawson referred to above).

There has been considerable critique of the post-PISA policy changes in Germany. The criticism that Nida-Rümelin (Nida-Rümelin and Zierer, 2015, Nida-Rümelin, 2013) and a number of other authors make (Lenzen, 2014, Liessmann, 2014, Ladenthin, 2013, Rumpf, 2006, Rumpf, 2010) is that the core notion of Bildung, that is, self-formation of the person as a critical citizen is being marginalized or instrumentalized by current education policies that define learning outcomes in terms of specific competences. These authors see a shift of emphasis from the education and development of the person towards becoming responsible, tolerant and critical subjects, the central idea of the German educational philosophy of Bildung (Hastedt, 2012a, Ehrenspeck, 2010), towards a more pragmatic focus on employability. Alheit and Dausien (Alheit and Dausien, 2010) also note a similar shift in the meaning of lifelong learning. The term lifelong learning, and not just in the German language, has shifted over the past 25 years from 'learning to be' to 'learning to be productive and employable' and "it appears to have shifted from lifelong learning as a means for personal development and social progress to lifelong learning as a means for economic growth and global competitiveness" (Biesta et al, 2011, p.5). Classic modern theorists of Bildung such as Klafki (Klafki, 2007) insisted that citizenship, democracy and social justice all depend on subjects being capable of autonomous judgement and social responsibility. These notions have been subsumed into catalogues of competences that can be tested and measured (Halász and Michel, 2011).

As Nieke (Nieke, 2012) has shown, many of the key terms in education, such as learning and Bildung, have changed their meanings. Whereas Bildung once meant the self-formation of the individual in ways that cannot and should not be predicted, today government education policy is known as Bildungsstandards and Bildungsziele (educational goals). Gadamer (2013) argued that Bildung has "no goals outside itself...the word and thing Bildungziel (educational goal)- is to be regarded with suspicion...Bildung as such cannot be a goal...In Bildung...that by which and through which one is formed becomes completely one's own" (2013, p.11). This idea is central to my understanding of learning to become a subject. Learning what Bildungsstandards describe involves socialization not subjectification.

1.4 The academic context

There has been a significant increase in the number of academic studies on Waldorf pedagogy over the past 15 years, coming to the modest total of around 80 empirical studies (Schieren, 2016a). Recent studies in Germany have looked at the role of the class teacher (Helsper et al., 2007, Großhoff, 2008, Kunze, 2011, Höblich and Großhoff, 2006), the experiences of alumni (Barz and Randoll, 2007a, Barz and Randoll, 2007b, Dahlin, 2007, Gerwin and Mitchell 2007), professionalism among teachers (Randoll, 2013, Barz, 2013) and school quality (Liebenwein et al., 2012). In chapter two (section 2.12) I discuss some of these studies on student biographies and school cultures in more detail.

As Schieren comments, most of these studies "give Waldorf a good report" (2016a, p.14). Schieren writes that according to the "measurement criteria used by empirical

educational research”, Waldorf schools are “internationally competitive” (2016a, 14), despite receiving less funding than schools in the state sector and their pupils show high levels of identification with their school (Liebenwein, et al, 2007, pp.133). One can assume that this comment is set against the dominant research parameters set by the ‘PISA Shock’, the response to Germany’s poor showing in the international student achievement comparisons. Waldorf schools do not aim to be ‘internationally competitive’. They aim to be good schools in terms of their own aims and the perceptions that pupils and parents have of them. Perhaps more significant, however, is the fact that academics are looking at Waldorf schools at all.

There have been several major collections of academic essays on Waldorf pedagogy since 2010 (da Veiga, 2006, Paschen, 2010, da Veiga and Randoll, 2013, Schieren 2016b). Some of these studies have arisen out of the work of a regular academic colloquium consisting of a group of professors from German, Swedish, Norwegian and Austrian universities together with colleagues from Waldorf teacher education (see Schieren, 2016a, for the members) that has met since the late 1980’s. The increase in academic interest is also connected to the fact that there are now three state recognized higher education institutions, the Alanus University near Bonn and the Freie Hochschule Stuttgart, both in Germany and the Rudolf Steiner University College, Oslo, with professorships in Steiner education, offering PhDs in this field. There are also academics teaching courses on Waldorf at other universities (e.g. Neil Boland at Auckland University). My motivation for doing this Education Doctorate is partly connected with my teaching role on a Master of Waldorf Pedagogy programme.

In spite of this academic interest, most studies to date have looked at the practice and avoided the theory informing the education. The critique has been formulated anecdotally in terms of, “you have in many ways a successful pedagogical practice, but unfortunately a questionable (anthroposophical) ideology” (Rittelmeyer, 2010, Rittelmeyer 2011). Ullrich (Ullrich, 2012a) entitled a paper on Steiner education, “Strange anachronism or future-orientated model? (Befremdliche Anachronismus oder zukunftsweisendes Modell?) and took a clear position in his book Waldorf pedagogy: A critical introduction, by repeating how positive the research is on Waldorf practice but how the ideas informing it that are based on Steiner’s esotericism are completely unscientific (Ullrich, 2015). Schieren (Schieren 2016a) summarizes his survey of the academic reception of Steiner Waldorf pedagogy in similar terms; good practice but “the theoretical foundations of Waldorf pedagogy remain totally unworthy of academic discussion (indiskutabel)” (2016a, p. 13).

Given this academically ‘toxic’ theoretical context, I have deliberately focused on an aspect of practice in this thesis and have not drawn on the theoretical basis for the pedagogy, except to outline the published aims of the education. It would not have been possible, given the word limits in this thesis to engage with this ‘Waldorf’ theory. My position is, however, that it would be possible to discuss the actual theory informing Waldorf practice in academic terms and I fully intend to do so in future, for example, by looking at learning theory within Waldorf theory and developing methods of illuminative practitioner research (Elliott and Lukes, 2008) that use this theory. This study therefore falls within the context of current research, almost all of which is published in German, that looks at an aspect of practice. The study takes work done on school culture (Helsper et al, 2007) into account, although there has been no research that has explored the themes dealt with here (non-formal learning, learning as becoming

a subject, the context of exams and the Waldorf curriculum). It is also rare, in that it is carried out by a practitioner.

1.5 Becoming a subject through subjectification

I paraphrased the central aim of Steiner pedagogy above as enabling young people to learn to become subjects. The word subject is used here to refer to a person who is capable of acting intentionally within social contexts, and who can exercise agentic power in Campbell's sense that a person is able to act "independently of the constraining power of social structure" (Campbell, 2009). I follow Biesta (2013) in seeing the subject as a person who is capable of autonomous judgements, who can take responsibility for her actions and is capable of recognizing the needs and position of others and can thus act in a socially sustainable and responsible ways. Being a subject in this sense implies that the person is capable of making sense of her own life and of giving it direction. This means being able to construct stable and coherent identities across time and social space. Coherent here means that the parts subjectively appear to belong together in a whole.

This notion of the subject is understood as being social, dialogical and emergent (in the sense of becoming), rather than something fixed or essential. Biesta (2013) refers to the process of becoming a subject as 'subjectification'. Others, such as Abel (Abels, 2010) (and many others) would call it identity work. I have chosen to stay with the term subject, for reasons I discuss below but also because I am looking at the process of becoming a subject from the subject's perspective.

Since my inquiry into becoming a subject is located in a school context I find it helpful to use Biesta's (2013) conceptual model that distinguishes, for purposes of analysis, between three functions of schools; namely between socialization, qualification and subjectification. Socialization refers to the processes of enabling the person to participate as fully as possible in social life. These processes are usually implicit, for example, through the learning culture of a school that encourages social inclusion. The function of qualification refers to explicit and intended ways of enabling young people to learn the cultural techniques, knowledge, skills and competences required to participate actively in civil society and economic life, including acquiring the necessary certificates of qualification that signify that the person has been formally assessed in some way.

The function of subjectification refers to pedagogical processes and practices that "contribute to the emergence of human subjectivity or 'subject-ness'" (Biesta, 2013, p. 18). The function of subjectification in schools is "the formation of the child or the young person towards subject-ness" (Biesta, 2013, p.4). Biesta makes the important distinction between socialization and subjectification and "one of the important challenges for contemporary education is how we can actually articulate the distinction between the two" (2013, p.129). We must distinguish the difference between socialization, which is about "the ways through which, through education, individuals become part of existing orders and traditions- and subjectification- which is about ways of being that are not entirely determined by existing orders and traditions" (2013, p. 18). The 'not entirely' is important, because socialization and subjectification are to an extent co-constituting. However, some learning processes, perhaps involving encounters with others, may be events that interrupt implicit processes of adaptation and assimilation and prompt subjectification, and which involve some degree of becoming aware, being reflective and deliberately re-positioning ourselves. Subjectivity enables (but does not guarantee that)

something new, different and unpredictable to emerge. A subject can choose to be different and can act outside of existing norms and even against existing social structures.

It is important that Biesta's three functions of education are not seen as polarities or as self-contained concepts. Socialization, qualification and subjectification as processes are obviously co-constitutive within education. A particular learning culture, for example, may dispose people to act as subjects in particular ways by providing opportunities for 'events of interruption' (Biesta, 2013) and there being a discourse that encourages biographical reflection. A learning culture that valorizes autonomy of judgement, critical thinking, social and ecological responsibility, as well openness and sensitivity to moments of subjectification in the way Biesta describes, may prompt a different kind of biographical subjectification than a school culture, such as Verhaeghe (2015) describes, that valorizes competition and individualism. Likewise, becoming qualified may also lead people to new identities and ways of being as subjects. It is important to bear in mind, that Biesta's functions of education are heuristic perspectives, not actual social processes. If we use this heuristic in connection with a notion of learning as becoming (Hodkinson et al, 2008) and as sustainable change in the whole human being, body and mind (Jarvis, 2006), as I do in this thesis, then socialization, qualification and subjectification can be seen metaphors for different forms of learning; learning to be, learning to do and learning to become.

Biesta's notion of subjectification draws on a phenomenological philosophical tradition and specifically on Arendt's (Arendt, 1958) notion of our 'natality' or beginnings. This refers to the situation of our 'coming into presence' or 'coming into the world', that is, the process or series of events in which something new comes into being through the action of the subject (Biesta, 2013, pp. 141-143). This coming into presence, however, is always a coming into the presence of others. Thus our subjectivity is dependent on how others respond to our natality, thereby creating a space for our action, for our becoming.

Biesta (2013) points out that the notion of subjectivity as coming into presence, needs to be complemented by the notion of uniqueness. Here he draws on Levinas' (Levinas, 1991) notion that we need others in order to experience that we are different. Biesta (2013) explains the significance of Levinas' idea and takes it a stage further by pointing out that it is not crucial to know what makes us unique but to know when it matters. It matters when we are responsible for the other (Biesta, 2013, p. 144). Responsibility is something that only we ourselves can take responsibility for. We cannot be morally coerced to take it otherwise it is not responsibility in this sense. Taking responsibility is an act of a subject who recognizes the intentionality of her relationship to the object. Thus subjectification as an educational function involves enabling people to come into presence through the (personal) Other, for whom they take responsibility. I follow Biesta (2013, p. 19) in using a capital letter for Other, which is how Levinas' word *autrui*, meaning the personal other is translated. This differs from other with a lower case 'o' as the translation of *autre*, meaning otherness in general. Later I link this coming into presence through the Other with Stein's (Stein, 1989) phenomenological notion of empathy.

Biesta (2013, p. 18) is careful not to align his use of the term subjectification to any particular theory about how subject-ness comes about, nor what the subject is. It just highlights "situations we can find ourselves in, situations in which we are literally

singled out and in which our uniqueness matters” (Biesta, 2013, p.145). As he puts it, this uniqueness is an event, rather than a quality one can have or claim to know. It occurs in encounters between people that cannot be planned or predicted. These are situations in which the subject is called upon to answer the question posed by life, “so what are you going to do about this- remain who you are or change?” This leads Biesta to argue that subjectivity-as-an-event cannot be produced by education, but teachers can create conditions in which it is more likely to occur.

Through pedagogy we can create situations that call for subjectivity, but we (as teachers) cannot guarantee this will occur. Biesta (2013, p.23) argues that it is important to ensure that our educational arrangements, “our curricula, our pedagogies, our lesson plans, the way we run and build our schools, and the ways in which we organize schooling in our societies- do not keep our students away from such experiences “. Thus schools have a duty not only to provide what ‘society’ wants but also a duty to ‘resist’ this requirement by sometimes actively allowing and even encouraging persons to become more autonomous subjects (Biesta, 2015). Biesta (2013, p. 3) argues that in wanting to make education “strong, secure, predictable and risk-free”, schools tend to force students into an infantile position in which everything is controlled right up to the last act- the exams. This defeats the object of education, he argues, which is to enable autonomous citizens to take hold of their own lives in a ‘grown-up’ way, which comes about through open dialogical engagement with what or who is Other.

Biesta and Tedder’s (Biesta and Tedder, 2007) notion of ecological understanding of agency relates to this notion of relative and relational agentic subjectivity. It accounts for how people respond actively in contexts-for-action. Ecological agency in the field of biography means the ability of an individual to act autonomously within the opportunities and limitations afforded by the social structures and institutions (such as school) within the lifecourse (understood as the subject’s positions along a trajectory within social space marked out by institutions and transitions) that the person is embedded in. It has to do with a person’s ability to shape her response to the opportunities afforded by the situation in order to realize her intentions, perhaps even to recognize what her intentions are. This perspective changes the notion of agency as something centred within the person, as a skill or ability possessed by a person. Rather it refers to the capacity to act in relation to the structures a person is embedded in and in ways those structures allow and afford. Agency is not only about doing things outwardly, it is also about seeing things in a new or different way and making decisions. An ecological perspective on agency has “an individualistic bias...It helps to understand how individual actors can reframe the composition of their agentic orientations so as to change their responsiveness to particular problematic situations” (Biesta and Tedder, 2007, p.147). I think this notion is helpful in understanding lived experience of the process of becoming a subject.

1.6 A pedagogy of interruption

Linked to his notion of coming into being through the Other, Biesta has introduced the idea of a ‘pedagogy of interruption’ (Biesta, 2010), drawing on Derrida’s (Derrida, 2002) notion of acts of interruption and on Nancy’s (Nancy, 2000b) notion of intrusion, as part of the process of becoming a subject. In educational contexts the pupil may be confronted with something (or somebody), that causes a disruption of habitual patterns

that awakens the person to the other (i.e. that which interrupts). This intrusion can occur because what the student encounters something unknown, strange and different, or something that offers resistance. However, a pedagogy of interruption is not just a question of adaptation and the assimilation of something that comes from outside, nor the unfolding of what is within but is about an ongoing dialogue between self and other. In this encounter, there are three possible responses.

The first is to overcome, master and defeat what resists us. Thus we affirm and retain our existing status and no change occurs. The second is to avoid the other. In either case nothing is learned in the sense of learning as becoming something that is not yet there. Biesta calls the third option the educational 'space'. This is where education as self-formation begins, which is a process that cannot be totally controlled and whose outcomes are uncertain. Resistance enables the person to see herself and her relationships to the world from another perspective. These 'interruptions' are by their nature events rather than a systematic or habitual process. Interruptions may awaken the subject reflexively to a particular situation and its structures. Thus becoming a subject is not an outcome in the usual sense of educational aims and outcomes, but rather a series of events through which the subject comes into being, in and through encounter with the Other.

Meyer-Drawe (Meyer-Drawe, 2012) gives a similar account. She takes a phenomenological approach to learning as experience in which the existing world that a person has internalized is interrupted and a new one is constructed. Thus learning bridges the gap between what is no more and what has yet to become. Learning begins at the point where what is known is no longer adequate and what is not yet known is not yet available. Learning is characterized by fractures, ruptures (or inter-ruptions). These are experiences we have when we choose to, or are forced to look at what we know with new ways of seeing, listening, feeling, knowing, understanding and doing (2012, p. 15). She frequently uses the old German word *Widerfahrnis*, which refer to something that comes towards us in life unexpectedly and generates an experience. Meyer-Drawe links *Widerfahrnis* with the classical Greek notion of *pathos* – meaning to suffer, as used in connection with Greek drama, in particular in the expression *pathei mathei* – learning to suffer or learning through suffering (2012, p. 150). Learning, especially in the sense of transformation of the person, is 'suffering' through experience- though here to suffer is not necessarily painful. To suffer also means to allow, to open up to something, of being there for someone, as in the Christian Gospel of St. Luke, the words of Jesus, "Suffer little children to come unto me" (King James Bible, Luke 18:16).

Learning, according to Meyer-Drawe (2012) is both a new 're-membering' or a new reconstruction of what was tacitly known and proceeds from what has been bodily learned that is raised to consciousness through reflection. In both cases the productive difference between before and after is brought into movement. In both cases existing horizons and structures of knowing are reconstituted. In this sense learning is not based on experience, learning is experience and therefore learning is always in some way, a learning about oneself. Meyer-Drawe contrasts this phenomenological account of learning with the predominant learning discourse that sees learning ideally as a machine-like optimization of smooth processes that solve problems with a minimum of disruption, that aims for reproduction without variation and other inadequacies, as free from stress and friction as possible. Phenomenological learning, she says, is messy,

awkward, subversive and anachronistic and involves the person getting tangled up with the world. In Biesta's terms, it is a risky business.

Changes brought about through interruption can open up new opportunities for responding to the world and for agency, though some interruptions may also narrow opportunities. Disability, illness, accidents, natural disasters, war, social conflict, unemployment, poverty, breakdowns or loss in relationships, what Billet (Billet, 2009) calls brute facts, are also interruptions. Though these may open up new learning opportunities, they may also limit the development of the person.

1.7 The contemporary educational philosophy of Bildung

Bildung is typically understood today in German educational discourse as the individual assimilation of the social world by a subject who develops herself ("individuelle Aneignung der Welt durch ein sich selbst entfaltendes Subjekt" (Göhlich and Zirfas, 2007). Thus the notion of Bildung implies the embodiment of experience that is then transformed by the person, in a process we call learning, in order to bring herself forth into what we, as witnesses, perceive as an emergent subject. Faulstich (2013) associates learning with processes of bodily encounter and activity that lead to the experience of togetherness with others that is extended to an experience of connectedness between the self and the social and natural world. Bildung, he says, can be understood as both the process and the outcomes of learning within a person's life history through which the individual strives to establish identity (Faulstich, 2013, p. 214). The challenge of identity work in a late-modern risk society (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) or liquid modernity (Bauman, 2007) is securing stable identities in spite of the lack of traditional structuring structures associated with lifecourses in industrial societies. In Bauman's (2007) metaphor, we are all life-artists endlessly constructing temporary bricolage identities (Lash, 2002) using whatever is at hand. Thus self-formation, more than ever, requires inner orientation and direction.

This places subjectification at the core of education and at odds with the increasing influence of competence-based curricula and exams in contexts shaped by an auditing culture and the increasing centralization of control of education through policy technologies (Ball, 2008), such as standardization and performativity. The function of subjectification is not to reproduce what exists but to make change possible.

In concluding a book on human learning, Faulstich (2013, p.214) points out that all the key themes he has addressed such as activity, learning, experience, interest, context, sociality and identity are all themes that belong to the 'old question of Bildung'. Through learning subjects assimilate a culture and in the process of doing so they develop personality (or they develop as a person- the German word suggests both translations). Through the process of learning to become a person, the possibility of identity arises within the individual biography. This, he argues can actually only happen in post-modern societies in which the place, position and lifecourse of the individual is not fixed.

The function of Bildung today is therefore not the transmission of a timeless canon of cultural contents, but rather is to facilitate the learning of the abilities the individual needs to secure identity, develop as a person and which enable her to gain maximum sovereignty over her own life and the ability to take the opportunities that life provides in order to learn. However, this requires a notion of identity that is fluid and can

respond to ongoing learning processes, towards (here Faulstich apologizes for the pathos of the term) a possible better future life, when the current catastrophe is over. Bildung is the resource, he says, to start rebuilding a meaningful community life again. The competition of actors in the capitalist market breaks human community apart. Therefore, following Faulstich, “learning is not an innocent term because it is positioned between adaptation to powerful structures and oppression by these. This links it to the fatality of the existing structures but it also drives the expansion of what is possible” (Faulstich, 2013, p.214).

Biesta’s (2013) critical stance is that education (he is speaking generally and not about any particular education system) is being increasingly organized to produce exam results, and that in pursuit of the desired results, children and young people are being made to fit into the system, rather than the system responding to accommodate the actual needs those children have in the situation they are in. He claims that policy is driven by abstract ideas, statistics and narrow measurements of performance designed to achieve maximum management of the education process and that it is not motivated by a concern to emancipate people from ‘infantile’ dependency on institutional structuring. He argues that it is an illusion to imagine that input should or even can determine output in education because human becoming is a long and complex process and the outcome can and should be uncertain- what he calls the ‘beautiful risk of education’ (Biesta, 2013). As he puts it, “the desire to make education strong, secure, predictable and risk free is an attempt to forget that at the end of the day education should aim to make itself dispensable...which means that education necessarily needs to have an orientation towards the freedom and independence of those being educated” (2013, p. 2).

Biesta’s view is from the high peaks of the philosophy of education. This study is located down among the swamps of practice, to modify Schön’s (Schön, 1987) metaphor about practitioner reflection being down in the swampy lowland, with messy and confusing problems. Nevertheless, the big picture from the firm, high ground can help us make sense of what close up, seems multi-layered and diffuse. The point about being a reflective practitioner is that without a philosophical perspective or what Schön (Schön, 1983) calls a constant that practitioners bring to their practice, or an overarching theory that is used to make sense of phenomena, it is hard to see the wood for the trees, or find a safe path through the swamp. The overarching theory does not “give a rule that can be applied to predict or control a particular event, but it supplies language from which to construct particular descriptions and themes from which to develop particular interpretations” (Schön, 1983, p. 273). I use several.

CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I critically review the literature related to my theme, assess the empirical basis of these approaches and discuss the theory that I draw on to frame my research question and to analyze the data. Sfard (1998, p.11) suggests, “the most powerful research is one that stands on more than one metaphorical leg”. I have based my theoretical approach on several legs, which I explain below.

In the process of working on the thesis I changed the focus of my theoretical approach, from the metaphor of biographical learning, as outlined in my thesis proposal, to learning to become a subject. The primary reason was that because biographical learning is a construct developed in adult education (Alheit, 2009, Hallqvist, 2013) and was based on multiple interviews over time, I felt this was no longer appropriate to my theme or research design, though there are close affinities to the theory I do use. This did not alter the research design and since there is considerable theoretical overlap, nor did it necessitate a completely new analysis of the data. I have attached more detailed account of my reasons in Appendix 9.

2.2 Subjectification and school

Can we expect schools to be sites of subjectification? Antikainen (Antikainen, 1998) reports on research he conducted using narrative biographical methods in Finland in a project called “In search of the meaning of education”. In this study Antikainen sought to understand, among other things, the importance of education in people’s lives in relation to lifelong learning. He analyzed the meaning of education at three levels by asking the following questions: how do people use education in constructing their pathways through the lifecourse? What do education and learning experiences mean in the production and formation of individual and group identity? What are significant experiences and how do these originate in various locations, including school? Related to these questions was the question as to whether education still has any emancipatory or empowering meaning, in other words, does it support the process of subjectification.

His study concluded that significant experiences were those that “appeared to guide the interviewee’s life-course, or to have changed or strengthened his or her identity” (Antikainen, 1998, p. 218). Significant moments can also, as I have discussed, be seen as interruptions (Biesta, 2013) or what Meyer-Drawe (2012) calls moments of discontinuity, in which we come to new awareness of our current position and stance in relation to the world, to others and to our expectations and hopes. Antikainen concludes that education (at that time in Finland) has the following meanings: as a resource and source of cultural capital, as provider of status and symbolic distinction, as conformity to existing social structures and as location of individualization. This last meaning relates to the fact that education increasingly emphasizes the capitalist notion of the individual as entrepreneur and as client of educational institutions and as a consumer of educational services (1998). This analysis is close to Biesta’s (2013) notion of the three primary functions of education.

Other conclusions of Antikainen’s (1998) study are also relevant to the present study. The qualitative method of using biographical interviews revealed a pluralistic social dimension to learning, that is, people learn in a range of different ways. Antikainen

noted that even in a changing society (Finland in the early 1990's) in which individualizing tendencies (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) were already noticeable, the family was still an important mediating factor as 'learning community'. In the cohort in this study, this too was the case. This observation together with the conclusion that lifelong learning can and does occur anywhere, show the limits of what formal education can achieve in supporting lifelong learning. In fact, the boundary between school and work was becoming blurred or less relevant in the learning process at that time in Finland. School as a location for the general education of the subject (which is what lifelong learning was taken to mean at that time), he concluded, had lost some of its meaning, in that it has become one location among others. The relevance of this conclusion for my study was that it indicated that non-formal learning may be important biographically and that learning as becoming is clearly located within the lifelong learning discourse. In the present study, both the family and the Waldorf class (to which the participants had belonged for 13 of their nineteen years) were similarly sites of learning within a community of learners.

Antikainen notes that "subjectification cannot be studied with traditional concepts of socialization and development" (1998, p. 231). This comment prompted my thoughts on learning to become a subject and the process of subjectification in educational settings. It was also of interest that Antikainen's definition of what people referred to as 'significant experiences' was based on Dewey's (1938) notion of continuity of experience, growth and development, and on Mezirov's (Mezirow, 1990) use of learning interests, based on Habermas' (Habermas, 1973) knowledge interests. These are understandings that Jarvis (2006) and Moon (Moon, 1999)) also work with and I drew on both of these in my considerations of reflection in the learning process. In Dewey's (1938) account, experiences arise when the subject notices discontinuities or problems or has questions and directs attention towards these, drawing on both embodied and social knowledge, which is then transformed by the encounter. The relationship between subject and world is transactional; it changes both. This is similar to Biesta's (2013) 'pedagogy of interruption' and Meyer-Drawe's (2012) notion of 'discontinuity' and 'pathos mathei'.

The empirical work by Antikainen and the studies on biographical learning (Alheit, 1995, Alheit and Dausien, 2000, Alheit and Dausien, 2010) and learning in the lifecourse (Biesta et al., 2011, Goodson et al., 2010) all seemed to point to the importance of narrative constructions of biography in organizing significant experiences into a coherent narrative that adults make when asked about their lives. The question remained open for me as to when this ability to construct coherent narrative is learned and whether school can do anything to support this kind of learning. This led me to explore what 'significant experiences' might be and how they relate to becoming.

2.3 Becoming a subject in a post-factual world

Without engaging in a lengthy philosophical discussion of the self, person and subject, it is nevertheless necessary to tease out some working definitions. As Sfard and Prusak (Sfard and Prusak, 2005) point out, terms such as personality, character and nature have been "irrevocably tainted with notions of natural given and biological determinants [and] are ill suited to the sociocultural project" (2005, p.15). Study of the Oxford Handbook of the Self (Gallagher, 2011) shows the range of current thinking on the question of 'who we are' and I find myself as reader, saying to each contribution, "well,

yes, that's also true". What is perhaps more important than the words we use (e.g. self, person, subject, 'I', ego or whatever) to refer to the grammatical subject in the sentence, "I am writing this thesis", are the relationships that this term implies.

I draw on Taylor's (Taylor, 1985) account of the person, that begins with Mauss' (Mauss, 1985) statement that "there has never existed a human being who has not been aware, not only of his (sic) body, but also at the same time of his individuality, both spiritual and physical" (1985, p.3). Mauss' intention was not to question this self (moi) as conscious personality capable of agency, but rather to explore the cultural and historical nature of the person and to establish the material continuity of the body and embodied knowing as the basis for selfhood. Taylor develops this notion of the person as self by arguing that the human being is fundamentally a self-interpreting, reflexive self and this reflection occurs through the medium of language, which is culturally situated. This also has the implication that notions of selfhood are culturally specific. The person (or subject) as a self-construct arises as an interlocutor in linguistic interaction with others and by virtue of the fact that language is the outcome of exchanges, which pre-existed us. As interlocutors, we self-interpret ourselves within a space of disclosure, that is, how we show, present and explain ourselves to others (and to ourselves in self-dialogue). Taylor says that we are often trapped in an internalist notion of the self, which bases personhood (or subjectivity) on consciousness and representation. It is more appropriate to think of the subject as a person-in-the-social-world (Jarvis 2009).

If it were necessary to make a distinction between person and subject, I would say that person precedes subject. Everyone, at any age is a person; being a subject is about the extent to which we behave in ways that described as ecologically agentic (Tedder and Biesta, 2007), that is, capable of acting agentially in a given situation. When talking about the process of becoming a subject, I am talking about persons attaining a degree of reflective self-awareness and becoming more capable of controlling of their actions within the situations they are embedded in.

Holland and Lave's (Holland and Lave, 2001) notion of history-in-person emphasizes the cultural situatedness of the person, while Holland et al's (Holland et al., 1998)'sites of self', or 'loci of self-production' and 'selves-in-practice' (1998, p.29) are all terms that indicate a de-centred, non-essentialist person who co-develops herself; 'co-development' being a coming together of the active person (agentic subject), "cultural forms and social positions in particular historical worlds" (Holland et al, 1998, p. 33).

The subject's awareness of selfhood can be described as identity work. Identity is a project that has the goal of constructing a necessary and wished-for sense of identity-the basic condition for which is social recognition and belonging (Keupp, 2014). Identity is the link between the individual and society. As Hall (Hall, 1996) puts it, identities within cultures are generated through ongoing identification or matching (he speaks of suturing or articulating) the subject to the various discursive positions she occupies, which is a process of becoming. Identity work today occurs under the conditions of constructing life-coherence and at the same time this is its goal (Keupp, 2014). Thus persons try to weave coherent identities as they move through different social practices, as Lave (Lave, 2012) puts it. Coherent means that the parts subjectively appear to 'adhere' together in a whole that 'hangs together', as suggested in the German word *Zusammenhang* meaning to belong to a context und is used by Holzkamp (1995) in relation to identity.

However, the inflation of opportunities for constructing identities in contemporary society means that identity-work has become increasingly precarious and no longer structured by traditional life-course patterns (Bauman, 2007, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Bauman (Bauman, 2008) speaks of the necessity (as opposed to the life-style choice) of constructing identities like artists creating contemporary works of art, a metaphor that also suggests the economisation and commoditisation of identities.

Böhnisch (Böhnisch, 2012), from the social pedagogical perspective of socially disadvantaged and excluded youth in post-industrial, globalized societies, refers to this process as biographicization. This is a condition in which social conflicts that in earlier, industrial times were played out as class conflict are now played out by the individual in her daily life without class solidarity or supportive cultural institutions such as the industrial workplace, trade unions, clubs or chapel to provide reliable structures for modelling identity. These tensions are now located at the individual level and played out in individual biographical trajectories.

Holland and Lave (Holland and Lave, 2009) speak of the dimensions that identity work has in terms of the conflicts and tensions inherent in enduring institutional struggles, contentious local practice and intimate identities of differently located participants. The individual embodies subjectivities and local practices in 'history-in-persons' and brings herself into being through participation in local practices, which are in themselves embedded in historically shaped structures that may be contested.

In concluding this section, I wish to emphasize that the position I take in this thesis. The subject is the name given to the location of the function of agency, the syntactical subject of the sentence 'she acts'. As reflective beings in a highly insecure world, we try to make sense retrospectively of our lives and we try to give direction to our trajectory by constructing narratives that reflect the values, aspirations and dreams we have. Subjectivity, in Biesta's (2013) terms, and as I use the term in this thesis, is not a higher or original state of being or consciousness that one can achieve or possess and thereby 'be your true self', but rather a process of consciousness and of meaning making in the moment that arrives at no permanent solutions but is ongoing. As Gray puts it, "rather than trying to impose sense on your life, you will be content to let meaning come and go" (Gray 2015, p. 165). Subjectivity is on the one hand reflective consciousness, awareness of being-in-the-world, a first-person narrative perspective, which enables us to construct identities over time and across social space. It is also the moment of agency when we can actively position and re-position ourselves, sometimes in ways that contradict socialization.

2.4 Taking a subject-perspective of learning

For Faulstich (2013), learning should be understood from the perspective of the learner as subject (rather than as object). Epistemologically there is no valid point outside the learner to observe and research the process of learning. The central question of this approach is not, what are the conditions of learning but rather, why do people learn? The answers are likely to be found in the person's life interests. Faulstich understands learning as a form of social activity of a subject, who wants to expand her access to the world.

Faulstich draws on various theories to account for the relationship between subject and structure. These include phenomenological and pragmatic approaches, social practice theory and subject-based perspectives of learning as becoming through participation and intentionality in his critical-pragmatic theory of learning. He also draws on Dewey's (Dewey, 1922) notion of habit as embodied social learning and Mead's (Mead 1973) notion that individual reflexive self-consciousness has an intersubjective origin (symbolic interactionism). At the same time he draws on Leont'ev's (Leont'ev, 1978) activity theory (better known in English through Engeström (2009)), Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated learning theory and Bourdieu's habitus theory (Bourdieu, 1992, Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Faulstich's theoretical work is based on a number of empirical studies, using a specific research methodology in which people reflect biographically on their learning (Faulstich and Bracker, 2014). The intention of this approach is to come to an understanding (Begreifen) that is appropriate to the research object in which observable conditions and subjective explanations of learning experience are explored together. The methods used include drawings, biographical narratives and group discussions in so-called 'learning workshops'. He refers to the data collection as a participatory-aesthetic ensemble of methods. He and his colleagues use a grounded approach to analyze the group discussions and the narratives and picture material were analyzed by a reconstructive method they specifically developed, similar to hermeneutic text analysis. Though I was unaware of it at the time, this approach has similarities to that used in the present study.

In order to free learning theory from behaviourism and individualist constructivism, Faulstich draws on Holzkamp's (1995) idea that learning is best understood as situated and embedded in social structures of meaning and as based on bodily experience, mediated by language and located in life-story perspectives, that he calls the 'situatedness of the person' ('personale Situiertheit', 1995, p. 263). In his theory of learning Holzkamp (1995) emphasizes the importance of seeing the situated standpoint of the person as something that comprises not only the spatial location but the temporality of the situation. This refers to the importance of the moment for the person in terms of her age, gender, social position, current mental state and existential orientation. This standpoint is, however, to be understood in terms of the unity between subjectivity and intersubjectivity. Thus the situatedness of the person is only to be understood in terms of the situatedness of the Other because I am the Other for other people. Thus our subjectivity is based on mutual subject-recognition and my scope for action is only comprehensible through the Other. My experience of 'here I stand' can be reflexively experienced only through the reciprocal awareness of the Other. Thus the situatedness of the person is, as Holzkamp (1995) insists, a genuinely social concept. Therefore, he refers to the situatedness of the person as a phenomenal-biographical context and links this to the notion of expansive learning as a coming-into-being of the subject.

Grotlüschen (Grotlüschen, 2014) revisits and reinterprets Holzkamp's learning theory in the light of recent research and theoretical developments, which she calls a neo-subject-scientific learning theory. She argues that international learning theory has been dominated by the mainly North American tradition of pragmatism, constructionist, transformative learning and communities of practice theory, whilst German approaches that are phenomenological, biographical, critical-pragmatic and subject-scientific have had less impact. However, she makes the point that "the influential work of Mezirow, Lave, Wenger, Illeris, Jarvis, and Engeström were created decades ago" (Grotlüschen,

2014, p.225) and learning theory is ready for new perspectives that link these perspectives.

What Grotlüschen perhaps overlooks is the existing link between these two streams via Lave who has acknowledged her debt to Holzkamp, and her close working relationships to the Danish scholars, Kvale, Dreier, Nielsen and Osterlund who are well known representatives of the subject-scientific approach (Lave, 1997). It is perhaps significant that Holzkamp's (1995) major work on learning has not been translated into English and that the works of Lave, Wenger, Rogoff or Holland have not been translated into German. Holzkamp's Marxist approach did not endear him to many American academics in the 80's and 90's (Roth, 2008) just as Vygotsky was ignored in Germany until fairly recently (though of course his works were published in German in East Germany). The fact that Holzkamp and Dreier refer to their approach as 'critical psychology' has not made their work accessible to scholars taking a social practice perspective. However, as Mørck and Huniche explain in a discussion about the critical psychology movement, "doing empirical research on therapy practice and clients' ways of participating in everyday life and in therapy sessions, and particularly inspired by prolonged cooperation with anthropologist Jean Lave (1997), Dreier [1993, 1997- author] has elaborated on the category of an overall societal context and theorised about participation across contexts of social practice" (Mørck and Huniche, 2006).

Space does not permit discussion here of intellectual and perhaps inter-cultural boundaries. However, the point is, both Holzkamp and Dreier assume a social ontology for learning and locate it in the space of intersubjectivity rather than intrasubjectivity and base their approach on the cultural historical paradigm represented by Vygotsky, Leon'tev and Bahktin. It is equally significant that the works of scholars associated with social practice theory, such as Lave, Wenger, Holland and Wells have not been translated into German and are rarely, if ever, referred to. Perhaps the present work can build modest bridge between these two related discourses.

Grotlüschen (2014) refers to a whole new generation of research that has included the subject-scientific perspectives. She sets out a new interpretation of this approach, which would take up too much space to review. However, one point she makes is important to mention. She says that Holzkamp's approach has suffered through his use of the term subject, which has been interpreted as referring to an autonomous, rational, individualistic agent. She makes it clear that Holzkamp and scholars working with neo subject-scientific theory, understand subjects as socialized subjects, "as products of social structures in which they are involved and subjected to, therefore viewing society from their own positions in the social space which serve as the premise for their ability to act" (2014, p. 5). The theoretical perspective of this view however, is that of the subject, the individual. In this theory of individual learning, "the subject's autonomy is however not a given, but is something that has to be achieved" (2014, p. 5). Grotlüschen makes it clear that this theory is not talking about a neoliberal rationale of self-perfection or increasing efficiency but rather "a materialistic rationale of improving the ability to control one's own personal circumstances, in other words...extended (even if never full) autonomy" (2014, p.5). This notion comes close to Biesta and Tedder's (2007) metaphor of ecological agency. Expansive learning is about extending opportunities to take up new positions as subjectively better forms of participation.

One area that neo-subject-science has focused more on, she says, is a greater emphasis on contexts and affordances. This has led, for example to a relativizing of the duality of expansive and defensive learning. There is now recognition that, for example, expansive learning can position a learner in a social space that then shifts to being defensive. A subject's interests in a given setting may lead to expansive or defensive reasons for action and learning, depending on the situation. Neo-subject-science researchers tend to look at such dualisms not as polarities but as dynamic tendencies along an axis, which very much aligns with Lave's (2011) account of social practice theory.

The similarities between the Holzkamp's subject-scientific approach, particularly as developed by Dreier (Dreier, 1999) Osterlund (Osterlund 1996, Nielsen, 1998) and Nielsen (Nielsen, 1998) and social practice theory when applied to learning are fundamental. Lave states that "my attempts to move towards a more open understanding of learning owe a deep debt to Klaus Holzkamp's long term project on learning" (Lave, 1997). Grotlüschen (2004, p.16) also points out that Lave and Wenger's notion that people learn because they want to participate, "is closely related to Holzkamp's problem of action (Handlungsproblem)", which states that people only learn if they have a practical reason to do so and that learning always involves the subject "encountering obstacles and resistance in carrying out his normal activities" (Holzkamp, 2004, cited by Grotlüschen, 2004, p.15).

The central shared idea is the importance of seeing learning as "changing participation in ongoing, changing practice" (Lave, 1997, p.131). The second key idea that both approaches share is that learning is best understood as trajectories of participation. This means that participation is not just a general involvement of people in a set of structures, but a direction of movement and change that individuals undergo that involves "going deeper, becoming more of something, doing things differently in ways that gradually change the ways you are objectively, the way you are understood by others, and the terms in which you understand yourself to be a socially located social subject. Trajectories are made and made possible in on-going relations of participation in practice" (Lave, 1997, p.131). People participate in various communities of practice and participate in different ways and institutions, like schools, arrange trajectories "or channels" (Lave, 1997, p.131) of changing practices with transitions. Such trajectories include the pathways from kindergarten to school, from lower school to upper school, to new sets of practices and learning cultures that structure and give direction to development. Development is structured by participation in changing institutional practices and how and what people are taught (Fleer and Hedegaard, 2010).

Staying in the same social practice does not provide the same impetus for change as changing practices. This kind of learning involves the whole person, including, of course, the body. And the body itself changes through growth and maturation. Thus learning involves a process of becoming and trajectories involve movement across time, space and social practices, within which each individual is pursuing her own particular interests, stances and positions and these align with or collide with those of others. Trajectories by definition have direction and intentions and these are 'interrupted' by the interests and intentions of others, including institutional goals. The main overlap with this social practice view of learning and subject-scientific approach is that both see learning as a facet of social practice, which is a perspective that avoids reifying learning. However, social practice is not always learning. Learning always requires the learners' motivation and feeling that their activities have the potential to lead to new

opportunities for pursuing their interests, what Holzkamp (1995) calls expansive learning. It is this aspect that makes learning transformational.

2.5 A Bildung-perspective on learning

Rittelmeyer (Rittelmeyer, 2012) uses the metaphor of Bildung to refer to what he calls a landscape of meanings within which one can move about and taking up different standpoints, each of which offers different views. The notion of landscape is drawn from art history and refers to the cultural construction of visualized spaces (i.e. a landscape is not objectively what a place looks like) in which the parts are integrated into a meaningful whole, reflecting the artist's intentions (Lambert, 2005). The metaphor of learning to become a subject would fit into this landscape of Bildung. As Bildung is generally understood by scholars today, it would refer to learning to become a subject in terms of biographical learning (Nieke, 2012, Rittelmeyer, 2012, Hastedt, 2012b, Thompson 2009, Göhlich and Zirfas, 2007, Alheit and Dausien, 2010). Faulstich (2013), for example, characterizes Bildung as a life-story task (*lebensgeschichtliche Aufgabe*), in the course of which individuals try to construct identity. Through assimilating culture they develop their subjectivity. In doing so individual biographies arise. Thus the learning is seen as an emergent, never completed process. Faulstich points out that the central challenge for the individual, seen from a Bildung-perspective, is to gain sovereignty over one's own life, in other words, to come to subject-ness. Enabling this, or at least not hindering it, is the central challenge for educational institutions.

As Thompson (Thompson 2009, Thompson 2006), who takes a Foucaultian stance similar to Biesta's (2013), has also argued, Bildung is not the self-realisation of a self-contained individual subject, but a series of encounters with the otherness of the world and other people. However, as Thompson (2009) argues, the kind of experiences that lead to self-formation (*bildende Erfahrungen*), do not merely involve the assimilation of 'objective' knowledge nor are they enacted through self-determination or self-directed learning or self-management (as espoused by lists of desirable competences), but only if the experience is challenging and provokes resistance (*widerständig*, 2009, p. 220). A formative experience (i.e. one that leads to subjectification) is one that challenges the subject through uncertainty, risk, interruptions, engaging with the unknown or with difference, through changes in location and perspective that disrupt our existing ways of seeing (Berger, 1972), disrupt our structures of behaviour, knowledge, belief, identity and which open us to the Other. This requires the courage and willingness to suffer in the sense of opening ourselves to the Other. This view of Bildung would enable us to include Biesta's pedagogy of interruption (Biesta, 2013) in the landscape.

Gadamer (2013) points out that the word Bildung has two linguistic origins, the verb 'to form' (*bilden*) and the noun 'image' (*Bild*). Becoming a subject involves self-formation in a cultural context and, at the same time, the individual creates an image, or series of images of herself, that we could call identities. However, as we have seen, Gadamer's (2013) understanding of the image is such that the image is not just a construction representing something- a picture of something- but is at the same time, something in itself. Hermeneutically we can approach this 'something' and try to understand it through a fusion of our horizon with the horizon of the text/image/object of our interest. In the process something new may arise. Subjects become subjects in interaction with others and also through hermeneutic understanding. Thus the process

of coming into presence through the Other, which is central to subjectification, can occur when we try to understand someone, as I have tried to do in this study.

Nieke (Nieke, 2016) outlines a theory of learning and the conditions for learning from a phenomenological Bildung-perspective that gives us an orientation for understanding of learning to become a subject. This view of learning is based mainly on a phenomenological approach that emphasizes the bodily basis for learning, the intentionality of experiential learning, includes some aspects of construction (both social constructionist and constructivist), recognizes both intentional and incidental learning and fundamentally understands learning as transformation of the structures of the self over time and a changing relationship to the world. Nieke (2016, pp. 385-386) concludes his discussion of learning with a summary of five core maxims about learning from a phenomenological Bildung-perspective that I think offers us a frame for the research. These are:

1. Learning can only occur if what is to be learned, is experienced as relevant by the learner. What is retained beyond short-term memory is either, negatively the outcome of defensive learning or positively, the outcome of expansive learning. Both can occur through intentional and incidental/informal learning. Defensive learning tends to dispositions of avoidance rather than to dispositions towards engagement with new learning material or situations.
2. Learning makes sense to the learner when it contributes to the development of a dispositional sense of coherence (Antonovsky, 1987). This disposition is learned through regular experiences that the conditions of learning are comprehensible, that change is possible and manageable and that learning enables the person to construct meaningful structures in her own existence in relation to the wider social context (Nieke, 2016, p. 385).
3. Learning makes sense to the learner when new experiences can be integrated into existing structures in the form of three kinds of knowledge that provide a basis for action, orientation knowledge, knowledge of the conditions of action and knowing how to adapt to a given situation, which Nieke (2016) aligns with Aristotle's notion of phronesis, or practical wisdom (Aristotle, 2009).
4. Learning leads to successful coping in the world.
5. Learning constitutes the learner.

These characterizations of learning and the conditions under which it can occur add to the notion of learning as becoming a subject that I have outlined so far. Learning involves sustainable change in the whole person and modifies what can be learned. Acting within the compass of the given situation (ecological agency) to pursue interests (what a person experiences as relevant for them) and opportunities for expansive learning, gives learning direction. Through experiences of interruption, and when the learning process leads to a subjective experience of meaningfulness and coherence. Now I would like to explore the notion of 'interruption' through encountering the Other.

2.6 Non-psychological empathy and becoming a subject

Stein's (Stein, 1989) notion of empathy offers us another perspective on becoming a subject that few other authors seem to have referred to. Only van Manen (2014) seems to have recognized Stein's contribution in educational contexts. Empathy is often talked about in psychological terms. Stein, however, offers a non-psychological, non-mentalizing (Gallagher and Zahavi, 2012) embodied perceptual approach to

intersubjectivity, from a phenomenological perspective. Like Scheler (Scheler, 1954) Stein saw empathy as a form of intentionality in which the subjectivity of the other presented by the physical presence of the other as body in space.

Stein sought to understand how someone else's experience can be given to a subject, despite the differences and distance between people. Understood phenomenologically, the term 'given to' means that the subject has a primary, un-reflected experience of the other person as being-in-the-world. For Stein, empathy is an irreducible intentional act, which means that the subject forms a relationship to the object through consciousness and the object is thus presented to the subject in the form of a conscious perception. In an empathetic experience, we are bodily given the experience not merely of a body or thing in motion, but rather, of a sentient fellow human being in motion.

Whilst the act of experiencing the experience of the other is primordial (originär), the content of the other person's experience is not; it is secondary. Thus it is not a psychic experience of feeling what the other person feels, as in the German word Mitfühlen, meaning, 'feeling with' or having sympathy for someone. Stein does not use the term empathy but Einfühlung, which means 'to feel into'. However, she explicitly distinguishes between Einfühlen from Eins-fühlen, meaning 'feeling at one with' (Stein, 1917). In Einfühlung /empathy, we do not merge with the other; subject and object remain distinct, yet the subject can experience that the other is having an experience and is therefore a sentient being.

Stein insists that empathy is not an outer perception, nor is it imitation, nor imagination, nor a memory of a similar experience, nor association with familiar and sympathetic experiences, nor is it a conclusion based on analogy (in her thesis she rejects each of these theories in detail). Our experience of the other person is not the meaning that is the other person (that would be primordial) but the meaning of the other person as it is 'given to us' by the organizing idea of a person as phenomenon. Stein (1917, p.78) describes consciousness, which is intentionality, as that which generates objects. Thus we construct the person as the object of our experience- i.e. our experience of someone experiencing. Through empathy, the Other (in Levinas' and Biesta's sense) steps into being for us.

Stein's key idea is that non-psychological empathy is also a kind of self-experience. The difference between perception and empathy, she argues, is literally one of perspective. In the chapter called, "The other body as orientation centre in the spatial world" (Der fremde Leib als Orientierungszentrum der räumlichen Welt, Stein, 1917, p. 56-57), she writes that visual perception gives us a geometrical perspective from an unconscious standpoint that she calls the zero-point. Empathy enables us to experience the other person's spatial perspective from their standpoint, from their zero-point, thus giving us a spatial affirmation of our own bodily position in space by triangulating the zero-points. My position is confirmed by my perception of the other person in space. The standpoint for this optical perspective is occupied by the other as body, and thus we experience our own spatial standpoint as occupied by our own body. Because this is the case, Stein argues, we have affirmation of our existence as animate, complex and integrated being or subject. Through ongoing, iterative empathic acts, I recognize myself as a being, as someone (not something) who stands in a certain relationship to other people, because I can see myself from their positions. Empathy is thus a relational, positional experience that is inherently social.

Gadamer (2013) also specifically avoided the psychological implications of the term empathy. His whole notion of *Bildung* und hermeneutic understanding involves the coming to self through the Other and what Nielsen (Nielsen, 2013) calls the unfolding of identity-in-difference in time. Nielsen (2013, p. 11) argues that, "I can only go through my horizon to reach the other". Other philosophers have taken up this notion of coming to self through the Other. Buber's (Buber, 1983) philosophy of 'I as Thou' says there is no I without Thou. The essence of Nancy's (Nancy, 2000a) essay *Being Singular Plural* argues that being-with the other is our basic condition, "being itself is given to us as meaning ...there is no meaning if meaning is not shared" (2000, p. 2). Nancy develops his ideas for civil society out of this basic understanding of the indissoluble nature of our being as always a state of being-with the other.

Empathy, which involves a coming-into-presence through the Other may therefore be taken as an indication of positional self-awareness and subject-ness. At a less philosophical level, one could argue that being able to put yourself in another person's position indicates that one knows where one stands and so enhances one's own positional awareness. Positional awareness may be an aspect of biographical awareness. Taking conscious responsibility for others in this process is a sign that someone is becoming a subject, especially if this is done reflexively.

2.7 A social ontology of learning

Seeing learning as trajectories of changing participation in multiple changing practices over time means understanding learning foremost as a process involving interaction between people embedded in a social world (Lave, 1997). One key term here is trajectory, which Wenger (1998) also emphasizes. It implies movement through time and space propelled by a force. In human life that force is the subject's need for change, growth and development in communities of practice - all aspects of what can be called learning. Social practices afford and limit trajectories. As Lave (1997, p. 132) says, "trajectories can be initiated as projects by and for participants". Human action may follow all kinds of interests and needs, some of which may be shaped by institutions like schools, others directed against these institutions and they may even have nothing to do with the institutions a person is embedded in. People participate in a practice for reasons that originate in other practices. Such trajectories are "conditions of possibility" (Lave, 1997, p. 132). She says that learning is only possible if the existing practices afford movement in the trajectories. This potential is distributed between the participants and their relations in the practices. This view of learning does not see learning as separate from, or prior to doing, but neither does learning always occur in social practice. Learning is not simply doing, nor is it ubiquitous. It has to have a purpose related to the trajectory for the subject. This argument is close to Holzkamp and to phenomenological accounts.

Lave and Packer (Lave and Packer, 2008) argue that the problem with cognitive theories of learning (common to neuroscience) and constructivist theories (like Piaget's) is that they both, in different ways, conceive of the subject as a mental and cognitive entity and the world "as an array of objects with determinate properties" (2009, p. 25). Subject and world are seen as fundamentally different categories. The relationship between them is based on a positivist epistemology in which learning means that the subject gets to know the existing world better. The direction of learning based on this epistemology is

towards formal, abstract, detached and objective knowledge. The main learning mechanism is detached reflection by autonomous subjects, separated from the messy reality of everyday life, which implies a privileging of 'refined', discrete knowledge over against knowing-in-practice. This form of knowledge is deliberately de-contextualized and thus seen as objective.

The socialization of children through everyday life has been considered a less important mode of learning than learning through formal instruction in school. A binary is created that separates socialization as learning through imitation and by unreflective doing that happens without needing to be organized, from institutional learning. Formal learning involves learners being taught by teachers and thereby acquiring formal and privileged knowledge. Such transmitted knowledge needs to be internalized and tested to ensure it has not been changed (i.e. wrong) or lost. The notion of transmission and acquisition means that knowledge transfer is possible (Sfard, 1998). Lave and Parker (2009) call these ideas, the mythology of formal learning.

Lave and Packer (2009) build their notion of learning on existentialist notions of praxis, notably drawn from Merleau-Ponty (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), which recognizes that the subject is an active agent who engages with other persons and artefacts in actual situations, not as a separate entity but as part of the structural whole. Practical activity or praxis always has a direction, though this does not have to be instrumental. Furthermore, "the lived-body is a structure of possibilities that organizes the world we live in and are engaged in. And in addition, persons in activity are differently located socially. Their embodied points of view create value in activity because of the partial, located character of such perspectives" (Lave and Parker, 2009, p. 32). Thus learning and knowing do not come into being in the head or outside in the world; they are always socially and historically situated. Individuals' understandings of self and world are not taken in as facts but always relate to the consciousness of others, to objects and to unfolding events. The person and the world are both acting in each other. Lave and Packer argue that learning is therefore best understood as being-in-the-world rather than as a state of knowing more about the world 'out there'. Instead "of an individual, mentalist, rationalist, elitist, ahistorical, acontextual dualistic view of learning, there is a dialectical, historical, contextual understanding of learning as an aspect of the activities in which persons are constituted by, and constitute themselves in, participation in communities of practice" (Lave and Parker, 2009, pp. 33-34). Learning, they argue is an integral aspect of changing participation in changing communities of practice.

2.8 Apprenticeship

The notion of craft apprenticeship has been used to describe learning as participation in communities of practice in various ways (Eraut, 2003, Nielsen and Kvale, 1997, Nielsen and Tangaard Pedersen, 2011, Rogoff, 1990, Ainley and Rainbird 1999, Rogoff, 1995, Lave, 2011). At its most basic, the notion of apprenticeship means people learning from other people through participation in a particular practice. As Rogoff puts it, this perspective locates learning "in the plane of community activity, involving active individuals participating with others in culturally organized activity that has as part of its purpose the development of mature participation in the activity by the less experienced people" (Rogoff, 1995, p.142). The term apprenticeship focuses attention on the activity in the context of its relations to the wider cultural context that the

practices are embedded within, including “economic, political, spiritual and material” relations (Rogoff, 1995, p.142).

As a theory, learning as apprenticeship is widely applied in ethnology, social anthropology, vocational learning, craftsmanship, adult education and school learning (see the authors just cited above). However, it is important to distinguish between apprenticeship as an actual model or programme of learning in which usually young people learn a profession partly or wholly in the workplace, for example e.g. as described by Fuller and Unwin (Fuller and Unwin, 2008, Fuller and Unwin, 2011), who the use of the term as a description of a form of learning and its use as a theoretical perspective on learning, including the notion of learning through participation in communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991).

Fuller and Unwin even suggest that innovative apprenticeships, as practical models of learning today, challenge Lave and Wenger’s notion, in which ““old timers’ pass on their knowledge and skills to ‘novices’, thus supporting the community to reproduce itself” (2011, p. 261). In my view, this does not do justice to Lave and Wenger’s notion of apprenticeship as a metaphor for a generative process of learning and in particular Lave’s (2011) far more nuanced description. Firstly, learning through participation in a community of practice is never simply reproduction because within practice, the individual and the collective are mutually constitutive and the individual is a source of innovation (Wenger, 1998, Lave, 2011). Secondly practice is always embedded in a wider social context that is undergoing continuous change. This ensures that practices always change over time, however much practitioners may wish to retain their traditions. More pertinently to my argument, apprenticeship as theory is not an objective thing, but a way of seeing, a heuristic device or metaphor.

Lave and Wenger’s (1991) influential monograph on situated learning draws exclusively on learning as apprenticeship, though they emphasize that they do not claim this to be a universal theory of learning. As Sfard (1998) and Biesta et al (2011) have argued, other theories are required to account for different kinds of learning. Nevertheless, participation is a theory that involves the whole human being, and not just cognitive dimensions. In common with current phenomenological understandings of learning (Nieke, 2016, Meyer-Drawe, 2012, Faulstich and Bracker, 2014), learning through participation requires the involvement of the whole person, body and mind as an integrated whole and leads to sustainable changes in the whole person.

Nielsen and Pedersen (Nielsen and Tangaard Pedersen, 2011) have analyzed the history of the metaphor of learning as apprenticeship and traced its revival and relevance in post-modern contexts in which learning is continuous and where a lifelong apprenticeship is called for. Apprenticeship emphasizes de-centred learning and distributed knowing, knowledge that is situated and flexible and located in learning environments and learning situations. As Nielsen and Kvale (Nielsen and Kvale, 1997) and Eraut (Eraut, 2003) point out, there are two traditional forms of apprenticeship, the German-Scandinavian *mesterlaere* (Meisterlehre- literally the teachings of a master) and the Anglo-Saxon apprenticeship (from the French *apprendre* to grasp or learn). The *mesterlaere*/Meisterlehre form emphasizes the close relationship of master and apprentice, involving coaching and facilitating learning in the workplace. In the Anglo-Saxon tradition both in the Middle Ages and in industrial times, groups of apprentices worked in the workshop of the master as part of the production process and were not

individually instructed but learned through participation with more experienced workers. They were supervised rather than coached. Not all apprentices became masters, indeed very few did and this was not related to skill but mainly to ownership of the means of production. This distinction is helpful if we want to apply the metaphor to school learning.

Rogoff (Rogoff, 1995) identifies three planes of activity in apprenticeship: active participation in apprenticeship, guided participation and appropriation. Apprenticeship is understood as the community activity, guided participation is the social or inter-personal dimension in the process of learning as apprenticeship and participatory appropriation is the personal process of transformation. As Rogoff explains, the guidance involves adopting cultural and social values ('how we do this and why we think it's important') and the participation can include observation as well as active doing. Participatory appropriation refers to how people change through their involvement and how this facilitates further participation (a notion close to learning as becoming). Rogoff specifically refers to this as a process of becoming rather than acquisition. She cites Dewey's (Dewey, 1969) notion that knowledge is a mode of participation when the knower learns through active involvement and observation. In Rogoff's usage 'appropriation' also includes trying to understand the process one is involved in. In this she emphasizes the distinction between passive internalization, assimilation and acquisition, including the possible transfer of pieces of knowledge (i.e. through imitation, or learning information by heart) and appropriation, which is active, reflective participation.

As a theory, apprenticeship offers a way of understanding how identity is linked to practice and to learning as adaptation to ongoing changing practice. Nielsen and Pedersen (2011) see precisely these qualities as relevant in a post-modern society. In the context of this study, it offers a possible way of accounting for the learning involved in becoming a subject, where the learning involves embodied dispositions rather than specific skills or knowledge.

Perhaps most salient to my use of the metaphor of apprenticeship is Lave's characterization of apprenticeship. Rather than seeing the apprentice as someone who doesn't know how to do something learning from someone who does, "we are all apprentices, engaged in learning what we are already doing" (Lave, 2011, p.156). Learning is participation in changing practice. Lave seeks to go beyond the binaries knowing and not knowing, doing and undoing, formal versus informal learning, decontextualized scientific knowledge and everyday knowing in context, by taking a relational perspective based on social practice theory. Lave (2011, p.152) summarizes this as a perspective – she speaks of a problematic- that focuses on the lived-in-world as it presents itself and assumes that it is in a process of change and that this is historical in character. It assumes that activity is situated in a context in which "subjects, objects, lives and worlds are made in their relations" (2011, p.152).

This means that persons are always embodied, positioned uniquely in time and space and in their relations to others, to things, social structures and institutions, as part of a historical process. People are always making places and practices and these are reciprocally making them. Although social practice theory emphasizes the social origins –the social ontology- of learning, this does not imply that it has to be taken up in the same way by all individuals. It is not social-determinism. There will always be

variations, because no two people can occupy the same social space at the same time (Holland and Lave, 2009). There are always many individual differences and no two life trajectories are identical. Billet (Billet, 2009) argues that learning is an active and idiosyncratic process, and the variations are the “product of personal histories, subjectivities, agency and the complex of personal factors that mediate individual’s learning...[because] humans are distinct in possessing capacities for reflexive self-evaluation” (Billet, 2009, p.38).

2.9 Learning in communities of practice

Wenger (1998) explores identity in relation to practice in ways that shed light on learning to become a person. He speaks of identity as negotiated experience, as membership of communities and of learning trajectories (among other aspects). Our primary lived experience of identity, he says, is our way of being in the world. This is even before we have a self-image and before we narrate about ourselves or what others say about us. This is secondary. Our identity arises in the first place through how we are and what we do in specific social situations or communities. This is the situation of the students in this study before being asked to narrate their experiences. Identity work involves bringing these two aspects, the primary lived experience of participation and the secondary reification in which experience is interpreted by ourselves and by others, together. Learning is a process of becoming (Wenger, 1998).

The second aspect of identity that Wenger draws our attention to is that membership in a particular community of practice (here abbreviated to CoP) makes identity a form of competence. Each community practices and values certain ways of being and doing. Our competence (in the sense of our potential to act or perform) in these, gives us a sense of identity. We identify with what we can do and be, and also through what we can’t (or don’t want to) be and do. Wenger sees learning as a source of meaning and of personal and social agency (1998). This offers us clear guidance how we might expect to identify the experience of becoming when young people talk about or otherwise represent their experiences in social practices and in their lives.

The third aspect is trajectories of learning by which Wenger means the paths we take over time. These can only be recognized retrospectively since they are not predetermined. Over time our participation in practices changes in various ways. It can lead to expertise or it can remain peripheral whilst still contributing to one’s identity. Each new position on the trajectory integrates what has gone before and anticipates what is coming in our negotiations in the present. Events are given significance in the this form of learning, when we sort out what seems relevant to our identity and what not. In each new learning event on a trajectory we give meaning to the practice we are doing in terms of the identities we are developing. Wenger adds, “a very peripheral form of participation...may turn out to be central to one’s identity because it leads to something significant” (1998, p.155). Recognizing something significant in our lives is an aspect of learning as becoming. As we will see this is exactly what the participants did in narrating their biographical drawings.

Wenger notes that learning also entails a process that is also linked to place. This means that to support learning, it can help “to offer a place where new ways of knowing can be realized...it may be necessary to offer learners alternative forms of participation that are ...a source of identity” (Wenger, 1998, p. 215). When a CoP makes learning itself a

central aspect of its practice, then full members can 'play' with crossing boundaries between CoPs and multi-membership of other practices, that is, members may deliberately try to position themselves so they can see the community from its periphery as if they were newcomers, and compare experiences in different communities. Such a learning community has to be secure in its core identity. This description fits well to a Waldorf class in the upper school.

More recent modifications of Wenger's approach treat the CoP not only as a formal (realistic) community but as an idea that can be used as a metaphor or theoretical lens to interpret the ways in which learning as identity-transformation can occur in particular places or situations (Pratt and Kelly, 2007). Indeed, the CoP lens can be used theoretically to view certain aspects of specific learning spaces, for example, how identities are constructed in certain learning spaces (Back and Pratt, 2009). This CoP perspective also has the advantage that it makes it possible to dispense with the distinction between formal and informal learning strategies because using this perspective means that one can look at the different ways people act and how these relate to different communities of practice, whatever the external arrangements are (Peacock and Pratt 2009).

In the present study, the Waldorf class that the students in the study have participated in for nearly 13 years, can be understood in terms of being a formal, literal CoP, rich in shared experience, ritual, common ways of being and talking, whilst the semi-formal learning spaces are situations akin to what Pratt and Kelly (2007) call hybrid communities of practice in that they combine several communities. In the case of the work experience practical, this may involve another formal CoP combining people, practices, norms and goals (Peacock and Pratt, 2009), whilst the pupils who participate in this for three or four weeks bring with them identities and practices that belong to their school situation, including, in the case of these students, the practice of scaffolded reflection tasks they have been given by the teachers. The projects, such as the six-week long drama production, are another form of hybrid community, since the class community engages in a new set of practices related to working in a large theatre space, often together with professional experts (not teachers). The CoP perspective enables us to look at each participant's action from different perspectives; as a student on a work experience, as a member of particular class, as being a member of a class but not being with the class (each student being in a different workplace), as a novice participant in an unfamiliar social practice, as a member of an informal network of young people in regular contact both direct and through social media throughout the work placement or project and so on.

The risk with using the metaphor CoP is that of a subtle drift into objectifying. The suggestion by Pratt and Kelly (2007) to manage learning situations by making hybrid communities, sounds very literal, even though they stress that "these communities are, of course, idealized; we make no attempt to assert their 'reality' in any sense..." (Pratt and Kelly, 2007, p. 37). When Wenger himself speaks of learning communities and of communities that make learning a central part of their enterprise (Wenger, 1998), the reader can forget that these communities are idealized and not 'realities'. Having said that, a class in a Waldorf school can be seen as a literal community of learners. This is what makes CoP theory tricky to use. We can use CoP theory to analyze relationships or identity processes in a literal community. The important thing is to remember which aspect we are talking about.

Wenger (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner, 2014) has extended his work on communities of practice to landscapes of practice. He introduced the term 'landscape of practice' in his earlier major work (Wenger, 1998, p. 118), in talking about boundaries, overlaps and interlocking social practices. Though he doesn't explain it, the notion of a landscape is a very appropriate metaphor. The word landscape comes from art history and derives from the Dutch *lantscap*, a genre of painting in which the artist constructs a vision of an idealized landscape (Lambert, 2005). It is not a depiction of an actual part of the physical environment. The suffix 'scape', which Ingold (Ingold, 2000) uses in his term *taskscape*, and Gamble (Gamble, 2007) in his notion of *childscape*, is a construct that implies a group of activities that belong together. Wenger-Trayner (2015, p. 15) speaks of a body of knowledge as a landscape of practice.

The metaphor, landscapes of practice, expands the learning sites to overlapping practices in different locations or institutions. Here interesting and complex interactions and tensions between these practices can particularly be experienced at the metaphorical boundaries. These can be learning assets. Learning is thus understood as a journey through a landscape involving degrees of identification and dis-identification, that is, levels and intensities of participation through engagement, imagination and alignment. In the same book, Fenton-O'Creevy et al (Fenton-O'Creevy et al., 2015) explore, using interviews, the situation of nurse students who do work-based learning, moving between academic and workplace locations. Although, their study looks at nurses spending time in a university, I think we can apply the principles to work experience placements by school students. The authors identify the processes of trajectories of varying intensities, distinguishing between 'tourists' whose participation is low in intensity and 'sojourners', who experience high levels of involvement in the new practice. The learning by 'tourists' is correspondingly superficial whereas the learning of 'sojourners' may be significant, particularly when the 'journey' through the new practice is supported by reflection.

By extending the notion of learning through participation in CoPs to other modes of participation than the classic trajectory from periphery to centre, and including degrees of marginal participation and the boundary encounters that occur, the theory of situated learning addresses one of its weaknesses, namely the criticism, expressed for example by Hodkinson et al (Hodkinson et al., 2008), that Wenger's original participants (i.e. his cipher Ariel) were one-dimensional. They appear to only belong to one CoP. In reality, people often participate in all kinds of formal, informal and hybrid communities of practice. They may remain peripheral, pass through as tourists without any kind of assimilation or they can sojourn with more intensive participation. What is interesting are the tensions that occur at the boundaries, when people leave their 'comfort zone' through what Jarvis (2006) refers to as an experience of incongruence, or what Biesta (2009) calls interruptions, and awaken to new practices that force them into new identities or at least challenge them to assert their existing identity more strongly. Either way, they engage more actively in identity work. If they narrate and reflect on these experiences, then learning as becoming a subject can occur. Other articles in the same collection (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner, 2014) report on empirical work, mainly based on case studies using interviews, that illustrate various aspects of different modulations of identification in the individual's multi-membership of communities of practice. The application to the situation of the participants in this study will become apparent.

Situated learning theory including legitimate peripheral participation (abbreviated to LPP) theory (Lave and Wenger, 1998) and CoP theory (Wenger, 1998) continues to inform research (Fuller et al., 2005, Fuller and Unwin, 2008, Fuller and Unwin, 2011). This sometimes occurs in combination with other theory, as in Biesta et al (2011) and it can be applied to a very wide range of practices. Woodgate-Jones (Woodgate-Jones 2012) has argued that schools can be usefully researched using this theoretical lens and Hodkinson and Hodkinson (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2004) have shown that the very flexibility of the idea of LPP within CoP is useful in identifying that even within a school and even within a faculty, there can be different and overlapping CoPs. As already indicated, CoP theory has been extended and applied in various ways (e.g. in landscapes of practice, as hybrid communities).

Safran (Safran, 2010) has shown that the term CoP can even be applied in research to explore situations such as home schooling that are not literally linked through an institution or have face to face contact with other participants, though only if the metaphor is extended to include people enacting a similar practice, having carried out the 'performative act of legitimation' of taking their children out of school and actively home educating" (Safran, 2010, p.111), having similar aims, expectations and experiences and accessing the same websites.

Boylan (Boylan, 2010) has argued that teaching that is primarily based on the transmission of facts or procedures cannot really qualify as LPP since the participation is minimal, which raises the whole question of formal and informal learning and it poses the question, as to what one values as learning outcomes and how one seeks evidence for these. Back and Pratt (2009) get round this problem by using CoP theory as a lens to explore different modes of participation within a given field of practice (in their case online maths learning). They do this by theorizing two forms of theoretical practice as Weberian ideal types, one in which learning predominates and one in which research predominates, and use these as a lens to look at actual cases. Boylan (2010) extends LPP/ CoP theory by developing the metaphor of ecologies of participation, which as he claims, allows "for both learning and participation to be understood as situated" (2010, p. 69). It seems that the CoP metaphor can be applied to understand a wide range of situations that do not constitute literal communities.

2.10 Learning as becoming

The metaphor learning as becoming was formulated by Hodkinson et al (Hodkinson et al., 2008, Hodkinson et al., 2007) as a way of understanding how learning changes people and was based on empirical research these authors conducted within the Transforming Learning Cultures in Further Education Project (James and Biesta, 2007). The idea behind this metaphor assumes that learning "can change and/or reinforce that which is learned, and can change and/or reinforce the habitus of the learner. In these ways, a person is constantly learning through becoming, and becoming through learning" (Hodkinson, et al, 2008, p. 16). These authors set out to build a bridge between what Sfard (1998) identified as two incommensurate, but necessary ways of accounting for learning, namely between learning through situated participation in social practices and cognitive acquisition. What fundamentally divides these theoretical perspectives is the view that participation is understood as learning in a socio-cultural context and acquisition is seen as a cognitive achievement of the individual. Hodkinson et al (2008)

argue that most researchers taking a situated view also see the individual's role as important and that most cognitive writers conceptualize learning by acquisition as involving some contribution of the situation. Nevertheless, few writers have managed, in their view, to focus equally on both aspects of learning.

Hodkinson et al (2008) draw on research done on learning in the workplace and outside of school to help them identify the role of informal learning through participation in classroom situations, a factor that has rarely been taken into account. Learning can involve conceptual change through learning new knowledge but this is often accompanied by embodied change through participation in social practices. However, even this expansion of the notion of learning did not address the question of learning as change in the individual and change in the learning space, nor how this is influenced by the wider social, economic and political context.

In order to bring these different aspects together these researchers take a cultural perspective on learning. They draw on Vygotsky's (1978) notion of cultural learning in which each significant learning step occurs at two levels, firstly in a social context and secondly internalized within the person, but they explore in more detail what is meant by culture, since Vygotsky's account of the social context is undifferentiated and fairly static. By using Bourdieu's (Bourdieu, 1992) relational notions of field, capitals and habitus, Hodkinson et al (2007, 2008) hoped to overcome "the 'either-or' of subjectivist (agency) and objectivist (structure) readings of culture" (Hodkinson et al, 2008, p. 9). The notion of habitus enables us to see that learners bring certain dispositions with them into the learning space, enabling certain kinds of learning and inhibiting others. Habitus not only generates practice it also generates ways of thinking that can become habitual, including, as Sayer (Sayer, 2005), cited in Hodkinson et al (2008, p. 15) points out, dispositions based on understanding and not just on doing.

Hodkinson et al (2008) suggest that a theory of learning can offer a theoretical account of changing habitus, not just through the influence of certain practices that may lead us to modify existing dispositions, but also more deliberately and consciously through reflection on our actions. Thus practices that encourage reflection may lead to new dispositions.

Hodkinson et al (2008) locate the process of learning as becoming within learning cultures because learning is practical (i.e. practice-based), embodied and social, as Dewey (Dewey, 1922) argued. They understand culture as a way of life, constituted by collective human activity, that is, in social practices and through the activity of individuals in reproducing or modifying or even abstaining from such practices. Individual's actions are afforded or hindered but not determined by cultures (Hodkinson, et al, 2007, p.417). Using a combination of situated learning theory (Lave and Wenger, 1991 and Wenger 1998), with Dewey's view of learning as embodied construction, these scholars propose the metaphor of learning as becoming, which is located in learning cultures. What a person can learn depends on the learning context or culture she is embedded in and on her dispositions.

Becoming is a phenomenological perspective that runs through the phenomenological tradition of being (and thus becoming)-in-the-world, the narrative self and the first-person perspective and narrative that phenomenological research takes (Gallagher and Zahavi, 2012, Zahavi, 2007). This is clear if we recall Faulstich's (2013) discussion on

learning and its relationship to Bildung, above in section 1.6. It also aligns with phenomenological approaches to Bildung that I have referred to above (e.g. Nieke, 2016, Faulstich, 2013, Meyer-Drawe, 2012). It is also one that aligns with some understandings of identity and individuality from a Waldorf perspective (Loebell, 2012).

2.12 Learning cultures

Hodkinson et al's (2007, 2008) coined the metaphor of learning cultures to describe learning contexts that are produced, reproduced and changed by the actions, dispositions, interactions, expectations and communications of individuals, who are in turn produced and reproduced and changed by the social practices of a learning culture. The artefacts and practices of institutions have a history that often pre-dates the current participants, which may make them harder to change because they are tacit. A learning culture is a metaphor that helps us focus on the practices through which people learn, and in particular on what enables and what hinders learning. Learning, as Lave and Wenger made clear, when they described learning as "not merely situated in practice; ...it is an integral part of generative social practice in the lived-in-world" (Wenger, 1991, p. 35).

A particular learning culture may embody tacit understandings that influence the learning process, even though the participants may individually think differently. There may be norms, ideals or expectations within a school that are at odds with actual practice as experienced. Since the relations that we can describe as learning cultures are themselves culturally situated, expectations and norms from outside the school may influence the way people in the school think, feel and act in ways that are more persuasive than either unconsidered values or espoused internal ideals. An example in the context of this study is Waldorf teachers' attitudes to exams that I have referred to. People are also sites for the tensions that this mix of embodied positions brings about, since in Holland and Lave's (Holland and Lave, 2001) terms, persons are sites of local contentious practice, enduring struggles and history in persons.

This approach is relevant to my study because it offers a perspective of learning that sees the person in the current learning space as someone who has been embedded within different learning cultures or who embodies conflicting expectations. It enables us to take a multi-dimensional view of the learning culture and individual positions within this. In the case of my participants, this also includes their childhood and earlier school years, their own expectations, the expectations of their families and friends and what the school expected of them. This was one of the reasons I started my data collection by asking the participants to draw a picture of their life, showing the things, people and events they thought were important.

The theory of learning as becoming was developed out of the empirical data gathered in the Transforming Learning Cultures in Further Education research project in 17 different institutions based on a 'nested case study' research design over four years using semi-structured interviews with students and tutors, observation and shadowing tutors, a questionnaire, diaries and logs books kept by tutors (James and Biesta, 2007, Postlethwaite, 2007). The Learning in the Lifecourse Project (Biesta et al, 2011) built on this theory, in particular the application of the metaphor learning as becoming to understand the data. The Learning Lives project was an empirical study involving 528 interviews with 117 people between the ages of 25 and 84 between 2004 and 2008. The

study focused on the interrelationships between learning, identity and agency in the life course and used life-history, interpretative lifecourse research and quantitative survey methods (Biesta et al, 2011). They defined learning for the purposes of their study, as the way people respond to the events in their lives, often in an attempt to take control over their lives. This seemed applicable to the participants in the present study, as did their definition of identity as “the way a person sees themselves in the world... identity is a matter of a person’s dispositions towards and about themselves” (2011, 94). As well as drawing on Bourdieu and Lave and Wenger, the Learning Lives study drew on the theory and empirical work of Alheit (Alheit, 1994) and Antikainen (1998). Learning, they explain is contextually situated and has a history, it relates to how people have learned in the past and it relates to the history of the institutions they participate in. The quality of learning depends to a considerable extent to the learning culture. The metaphor of learning as becoming within learning cultures was central to the study.

As in the previous study Transforming Learning Cultures study (James and Biesta, 2007), the Learning Lives study drew on key core elements of Bourdieu’s theory of practice to account for the interrelations between dispositions, positions, habitus, identity and learning. They concluded that, “the nature of the self strongly influences our learning. What and how a person learns are enabled and constrained by who they think they are and might become in the world- that is, by their identity” (Biesta, et al, 2011, p. 95). They point out that the evidence they gathered suggests that some identities can change, whilst others remain stable and that the self cannot be thought of as a unified, single, essential ‘true self’. Their analysis of the interviews led them to conclude that learning can occur through different modes, including participation, acquisition, construction and informally.

2.12 Waldorf school cultures and school habitus

There is research that shows that Waldorf schools in Germany are perceived to have a distinctive school culture. Helsper’s (Helsper, 2008, Helsper et al., 2001) model of school culture sees each school as having a culture that is influenced by the tensions between three vertical levels or dimensions of meaning, based loosely on Lacan’s (Johnston 2014) register theory that distinguishes between three registers, the Real, the Symbolic and the Imaginary levels. These correspond to the dimension of social, education policy and institutional structures, the pedagogical relationships and the self-understandings of the participants, also described by Helsper (Helsper et al., 2001) as the ‘school myth’ (Schulmythos). Each of these vertical dimensions is complemented by four horizontal fields; the regime of selection of achievement; the curriculum content, the pedagogical orientation (e.g. the extent to which there is person-orientated approach, the balance between authority and independence in learning) and finally the relationships of participation (Helsper, 2008).

Ullrich (Ullrich, 2012b, Ullrich, 2015) reports on research that shows Waldorf schools in Germany are seen by parents as distinctive and different. In one survey (Keller 2008), using a semi-structured questionnaire of 478 parents from 55 schools who took their children out of state primary schools and moved them to Waldorf schools, the main expectations they had were the wish for a holistic, artistic and practical approach (50%), the perception that fostering of personal development is very important (47%), there is thought to be less pressure in learning (25.5%), a strong emphasis on social learning (16%) and the teachers are committed (10%). The reasons given for leaving the state

school corresponded (too much pressure, lack of focus on the person, overtaxing the children). 90% of those who replied to the survey said their children were doing much better or better in the Waldorf school and they emphasized aspects such as enjoying going to school, more self-confidence and better learning attainments.

Another indication of Waldorf school culture is the strong positive identification of students with their school (Barz et al., 2012). This is even noticeable among former students over three generations, as the analysis of a large scale survey (using quantitative structured questionnaires supplemented by some qualitative interviews) of former Waldorf students shows (Barz and Randall, 2007a). It is suggested by these authors that Waldorf schools are strongly structuring institutions, primarily because of the intensity of long-term pupil-teacher relationships.

The relationships between Waldorf class teachers and pupils in relation to the question of authority has been researched in a major longitudinal study (Helsper et al., 2007). This study used ethnographic methods of observation using video and transcriptions of lessons, along with biographical interviews and focus group discussions. The central conclusions of the study, which is relevant to my study, were that the long-term relationships between pupils and class teachers, underscored with ritual and shared experiences (class trips, celebrations, plays and performances), is intensive and highly formative with both risks and opportunities for the pupils. These risks and opportunities are closely linked to the relationship (*Passungsverhältnis*) between the teacher habitus and pupil's primary habitus (i.e the influence of the home environment and social position). Where there are affinities and congruence, the pupil is more likely to feel accepted by the teacher. In other words, if the pupil aligns with the teacher's expectations of how pupils should be, the relationship is likely to be more harmonious and where not, there are likely to be tensions with biographical consequences.

In particular Idel's (Idel, 2007) study highlights the urgent necessity of reflection by teachers of their unconsidered dispositions (Kelly, 2011). Indeed, in his review of the book in the *Erziehungskunst*, the Journal of the Waldorf Schools' Federation in Germany, Fiedler (Fiedler 2007) highlights this risk of transgressing boundaries between teacher and pupil, school, and home and also points out that the Waldorf aim of a 'total formation and education' of the whole person through the educational approach is in strong contrast to the rationalistic school education discourse in reflexive modernity. This is a particular risk, he adds, if there is a lack of professionalism and thus a loss of trust between the persons involved. Fiedler, a Waldorf teacher, draws attention to the necessary discussion within the profession about the possible unconsidered 'effects' of the Waldorf approach, which to my knowledge has not been taken up yet.

One of the main outcomes of recent studies in German Waldorf schools by external academics is the notion of a specific Waldorf school habitus (Idel, 2007, Idel, 2013, Idel 2014). Idel's study builds on the theoretical frame created by Helsper et al (2007), in which they have developed the notion of school culture, drawing on Bourdieu's (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) notion of secondary habitus that reinforces (or contradicts) the primary habitus generated within the family and social class. Kramer (Kramer et al., 2014, Kramer 2014) has developed a differentiated approach to what he calls a *Bildungs-habitus* (school or educational context-habitus) by distinguishing several ideal types of pupils, whose habitus reflects their parents' expectations of education and social position. He has also proposed an individual-biographical habitus

to take individual specific life experiences into account, which seems to be similar to using the metaphor of learning as becoming as a theoretical tool.

Idel (2013) looked at the third vertical dimension of the school culture, the imaginary, by looking at the self-understandings of class teachers in relation to how former pupils recalled their experiences in school. Idel did this by analyzing the image of the developing child that was implicit in annual text reports written by class teachers and compared these to the biographical memories of former students. Waldorf schools provide detailed written reports on each child at the end of each school year in which the class teachers write a long (varying from two to ten page) characterization of the child including primarily formative and ipsative assessments. The report also contains short reports from each subject teacher. The text reports are, in my view as an insider, often well suited to analyzing the kind of ideals class teachers have about child development. Idel stresses that such tacit self-understandings by the teachers may differ from the views contained in Waldorf literature or indeed held explicitly by the teacher. Idel then applied this analysis to understanding the identity processes of the pupils between the ages of 6 and 14, and the influence of the teacher's habitus. He combines school culture theory and biographical analysis, drawing on narrative interviews and text analysis and uses an objective hermeneutic approach (Wohlrab-Sahr 2003), which involves precise stages of hermeneutic analysis using ideal types constructed following an approach used in sociological phenomenology following Schütz (Fischer, 2012), rather than being based on Weber's (Weber 1988 (1904)) understanding of ideal types.

Weber (1988, pp. 1-4) described an ideal type as a heuristic device that can be used to construct an ideal explanation of a social phenomenon (i.e. how things seen from a rationally, goal-orientated perspective could be). The ideal type is a construct that is derived through a process of one-sided intensification (*Steigerung*) of a particular perspective that draws on a selection of aspects drawn from individual cases (that may even be imaginatively construed) that are considered to be relevant to the context and which represent a subjectively intended meaning or concept. This is then used as a model to analyse empirical data. An ideal-type is a genetic concept that can be applied in empirical research to make sense of complex reality. Following Weber, interpretive understanding (*deutendes Verstehen*) arises not through interpreting the actual meaning of social phenomena but through the formation of an ideal-typical meaning with which phenomena can be compared. Ideal types are historically influenced constructs because they reflect a changing society. Weber made it clear that the meaning of ideal-types is not the same as an empirical average or a generalisation.

The term ideal-typical is widely used in German sociological texts, almost as a taken-for-granted term often suggesting a set of assumptions (e.g. made by people in a particular institution) about how things should (rationally, ideally) be. Reference is made to an ideal-typical lesson or student. This does not correspond to Weber's original meaning but is derived from it. I believe that this extended meaning derives from Schütz' (Schütz, 1970) tradition of phenomenological sociology, which seeks to understand social actions interpretively (*soziales Handeln deutend verstehen*) through the construction of ideal types. Schütz drew closely on both Weber and Husserl (Fischer, 2012). However, Schütz felt that Weber's notion of rational action assumes that the social world is intersubjectively conformist and that rational action is everywhere understood the same way. According to Schütz, this manifestly isn't the case. Thus in *Verstehende Soziologie* – that is, sociology as a science of understanding (Schütz and Luckmann, 1973), ideal

types are often used as 'taken for granted', or 'self-evidencies' within the lifeworld. Thus it is important to distinguish methodologically between Weber's ideal types and contemporary usage in German sociology.

Idel's (2013) main conclusions regarding the distinguishing features of the Waldorf school culture was that some class teachers have a view of the child as having the attributes of childish curiosity, creativity and original naturalness, which are typical of a romantic view of childhood (Ullrich, 2012b). He emphasizes that this view is not taken from the Waldorf literature but from the text reports of the teachers. Furthermore, there is a strong expectation that pupils should be integrated into the collective class community and strong belief in personal influence of the teacher's personality. Such a romantic view implies an essential self that has to be 'freed', a notion that is not only essentialist but also a risk because it may lead the teacher to simply allow the 'true self' to emerge, rather than using assessment to identify actual learning needs and then using pedagogical interventions to support the child's learning.

As Fielder (2007) mentioned in his review of Idel's first study (2007), there is urgent need for reflection based on empirical study of Waldorf teacher attitudes. Romantic views of childhood (and in my experience this is not the only problematical view that some teachers have, since gender bias and even implicit racism, as well as lack of recognition of so-called highly gifted pupils (Götte, 2005) are not unknown) may marginalize children who do not behave in ways that reflect this idea. In my view, a romantic view of childhood is not inherent to Steiner's pedagogy, which could broadly be labeled humanist, and which values the role of the teacher in ways that align with Biesta's (2013) arguments (following Arendt's views on education) that teachers should be people who take a responsibility for the world and for representing the world responsibly to children until they are capable of understanding it themselves, because education has the character of preparation for life and for taking responsibility in life. On the basis of this argument, Biesta (Biesta, 2012b, Biesta, 2012a) makes the case that teachers need to be experienced by their pupils, as people who make educational judgements and display practical wisdom "with regard to human goodness" (Aristotle, 2009) what he calls virtuosity, following a discussion of Aristotle's distinction between poesis and phronesis. Biesta concludes that children want to learn about things that are important and they want to be taught by someone. This aligns closely with Steiner's expectations of teachers (Steiner, 1996b) as formulated in a range of presentations to teachers that form part of the body of knowledge that informs Waldorf discourse. This is a non-romantic view of childhood.

Other characteristics of the Waldorf school culture and thus Waldorf-habitus that Idel's studies highlight are that the family becomes closely integrated into the school, including offering intensive support in learning outside of school- he calls this *Scholarisierung* (becoming school-like), whilst the school has a tendency to become familial and community orientated, which is a reversal of traditional patterns in Germany. Furthermore, he identifies that Waldorf schools claim to influence the whole personal development (as opposed to merely providing for qualification and socialization) and that the pedagogy of the class teacher period (age 6 to 14) is based on a pre-scientific didactic holistic approach.

Helsper's (2008) notion of school culture is similar to Hodkinson's et al's (2008) learning culture. Helsper (2008, p. 69) describes the symbolic level of school culture as including the interactions, practices, artefacts, routines and arrangements in each

school, which is what the metaphor of learning cultures refers to. Here the actual interactions between teachers and pupils, between teachers and other actors occur. It includes the rules and rituals of lessons, the teaching content and material, as well as the systems of control, assessment regimes and disciplinary procedures. To understand a school culture one has to look for the tensions between the different registers of meaning and compare these with the ideal type ("imaginary + symbolic + real = ideal type of school culture", Helsper, 2008, p. 69). Within this field of structural tensions, the students' family, gender and social class habitus shape individual learning biographies and thus individual identities can be understood in terms of the match between primary and secondary or school-habitus.

One chooses theoretical tools for the research task in hand. School culture theory may be useful for looking at multiple relationships within schools and certainly requires a very complex research design. Learning as becoming a subject offers a first-person perspective that nevertheless sees the person in her social context. Recent research based on school culture models in Waldorf schools in Germany offer a context for aspects of my study that I was unable to inquire into. The theoretical and research approach however is close enough to be comparable to that chosen in this study. What is lacking in Helsper's theory of school culture is a social practice perspective of learning. There does not seem to be any way of modifying a school culture or a primary or secondary habitus, except by imposing other structuring structures. Learning as becoming does not seem a way out in Helsper's theory.

I turn now to my research design.

CHAPTER THREE: THE RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1. Epistemology

The aim of this research is to gather the lived experiences of the participants using non-verbal, artistic methods (Leitch, 2006) and semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1996) and analyze these using a phenomenological and hermeneutic approach based on Gadamer's (2013) philosophy to construct themes related to the metaphor of learning to become a subject. In doing so I take a constructionist perspective, which means that I understand knowledge to be relative to the people involved and culturally bound. I recognize that knowledge is influenced by historical meanings embodied by the researcher, the participants and by the language(s) used. I understand that knowledge is co-constructed by people in interaction with each other and with the world (Crotty, 1998) and I take the view that knowledge cannot be based on a standpoint outside of the lifeworld, which is "what people 'know' as 'reality' in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives. In other words, 'common sense 'knowledge'" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

A constructionist view of knowledge recognizes that it can be embodied or reified using language and image and it can be distributed within social practices as knowing-in-practice (Billet, 2001a). Crotty (1998) makes the point that constructionism does not create meaning, which would be a form of subjectivism, rather it constructs meaning because the world is already there, though without meaning. The verb create implies something that is novel and without precedent, which can only exist in the subjective imagination, since in the real world things have a material relation to what went before, whereas construction suggests that something is made out of existing materials. In the case of meanings, they are constructed with language, which is social, and other ideas that are shared. Meaning in research comes about when the researcher interacts with the data, which comprises certain specific perceptions of the social world. This has a number of implications both for the research process and the processes being researched. A constructionist stance means that the knowledge we make is based on comparisons with what we already know. Thus all knowledge is metaphorical (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003) because we understand things in relation to other things based on our lived experiences in the lived-in-world world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). I have already stressed at the outset that the conceptual constructions used in this study are metaphorical in character.

In phenomenology after Heidegger (Heidegger, 1982, Zahavi and Overgaard, 2009) meaning is already implicit in the perception (and not in the thing itself), though it takes several steps of reflection and phenomenological reduction to construct themes or concepts that enable us to understand the phenomenon. Thus, meaning comes about when the researcher interacts with the data in an iterative process of observation (perception) and reflection followed by further engagement with the world and its representations in the form of data. Thus constructionism is also not a form of objectivism, which would see meaning as inherent in the things we study in the social world. The phenomenon we study is not in the world but in our embodied perception and articulated in the form of language, both of which are culturally influenced.

In this study, I neither took the data collected in the interviews as fact, nor did I impose my personal meanings on it. I also tried not to import and impose meanings derived

from other sources, such as ideological beliefs or taken-for-granted understandings. I tried to be vigilant that this did not occur in spite of my intentions, by critically re-reading what I had written and by working with feedback from my supervisors. I sought to construct knowledge through the process of interaction between myself and the data, mediated by the lens of theory.

3.2 Intentionality

As Crotty (1998, p. 44) explains, the act of directing of our attention to the world, of engaging with the world through our consciousness, is the basis for the relationships we have to the world. Through the act of constructing knowledge, subject and object enter into a relationship, which changes both. In phenomenology this is called intentionality (Zahavi, 2008). The consequence of this epistemological perspective of intentionality for research is that “because of the essential relationship that human experience bears to its object, no object can be adequately described in isolation from the conscious being experiencing it...” (Crotty, 1998, p. 45). Through intentionality, subject and object interact and both are thus changed by the act of knowing and thus new meaning can be constructed. Intentionality is the subject’s movement towards an object. It is therefore relational. This relates to Gadamer’s (2013, p. 313) notion of horizons. In the hermeneutic research process, the horizon is the view the researcher has from the stance she has at a given point in time and social space. The understandings embodied in the text (or more generally the data) comprise another horizon. The researcher encounters the data from her horizon but is open to the otherness of the data and thus this leads to a fusion of horizons and a change in the researcher’s position by virtue of her becoming more experienced- a process Gadamer calls *Bildung*. Becoming more experienced in this sense is an expression of an intentional movement from subject to object, what we might call in everyday terms, interest.

Bortoft (Bortoft, 1996) makes the point that the explanation of intentionality that is usually given, that ‘experience is always experience of something...’ can be misleading in suggesting a naturalistic view that what we experience is externally there. He suggests that a more accurate explanation of intentionality is the recognition of the fundamental structure of experience. What is seen and how it is seen are always necessarily correlated and therefore relational. Every experience is directed towards and refers to the phenomenon that is experienced and every phenomenon reflects and refers to the mode by which it is experienced (Ihde 1986). Bortoft (1996) points out that because of its intentionality, our consciousness is directed towards the object with which we interact, and not towards the act of seeing, which we are usually not aware of. However, the way we see something is related to the phenomenon - in fact, it is the phenomenon we perceive. Following Bortoft’s reading of intentionality, the meaning is neither in the object, nor is it only a product of the cognitive processes of the subject. We don’t ‘see’ the meaning in the object, which would be a kind of naturalistic empiricism, nor do we impose it upon the object, which would be subjectivism. Nor do we see the phenomenon as a manifestation of something essential. That would be idealism. This means that there is a difference “between the meaning which is what is seen and the meaning of what is seen” (Bortoft, 1996, p. 55). The meaning of what is seen has to be worked out, or constructed by the observer in a process that Bortoft calls cognitive perception. In cognitive perception, the object is seen in the act of seeing. It is not out there in the world. As Bortoft puts it, “more precisely the [object] is the way of seeing...” (1996, p.

125). Thus a research methodology is a way of seeing and is thus obviously not the only way.

3.4 Organizing ideas

Engaging with an object of study in order to understand it, may involve using an organizing idea (Bortoft, 1996, p. 125). The organizing idea is a theoretical tool such as a metaphor that enables us to bring objects into being, not as physical objects since these are already there, but as meaningful objects or as relations that have meaning for us. The forms of knowledge thus constructed are understood as linguistic artefacts and as a form of dialogue. Both Gadamer (2013) and Bortoft (1996) make the point that the origin of constructs is language, not direct experience and as Gadamer (2013) points out, understanding that can be communicated is by nature linguistic. Understanding, according to Gadamer (2013, p. 318) is always interpretation and interpretation can only be framed in words, concepts and images, and metaphor, which draws on intuitive embodied knowledge of the world.

I resolve this paradox by recognizing different phases in the process of constructing themes. We bring to our deliberations embodied knowledge of the world, which prompts us to think in terms of metaphors. Applying the metaphor as theoretical lens to organize the data into themes is both intuitive and reflective or conceptual. The themes have to be justified by the data and experienced as meaningful by others reading the research. The themes have a reified, theoretical, conceptual character that enables the research to be communicated and discussed. These meanings are of course also limited by the historical nature of language. The themes are neither entirely subjective, nor are they inherent in the data. The link between the themes and the data must be evident to others since they have to have a manifest relation to the words or images of the participants (such as the two judges I called upon in this study), and thus can be said to 'do justice' to the data. Thus meaning is constructed in engagement with the world and this occurs in an iterative, dialogic way, which is how I arrived at the themes in the data analysis. Because of their social and historical origins, constructions are best treated as provisional and specific to situations rather than having general validity and they need to be critically reviewed. This means that the validity of constructs should depend on high levels of transparency in the process (Titchen and Hobson, 2011). The process makes the researcher more experienced and this experience is reified as a description of a process that other researchers can draw on.

In attempting to understand the data, foregrounding the researcher's horizon of prior-understandings is important (Gadamer, 2013). It is necessary, for example, to question the way the researcher understands such everyday, lifeworld notions, as learning, personal development, biography and so on, as I have done in the previous chapters (and in many texts which do not appear in this thesis). Furthermore, as a researcher, I also needed to bear in mind that, "descriptions and constructions of the world ...sustain some patterns of social action and exclude others (Burr, 2003). Thus criticality was called for in drawing conclusions.

3.4 The sample

The group of participants in the study were chosen purposively (Cohen et al., 2011, Smith et al., 2009), meaning that they were deemed to have the experiences I wanted to

study and were available in the time frame I had. As Smith et al (2009) explain, in interpretative (or hermeneutic) phenomenological research, the sampling must be consistent with this research paradigm, "this means that samples are selected purposively (rather than through probability methods) because they can offer a research project insight into a particular experience" (Smith et al, 2009, p. 48). Participants are chosen because they "grant us access to a particular perspective on the phenomena under study" (2009, p.49). For this reason, the researcher looks for a certain homogeneity and the nature of the homogeneity is defined in the context of the study. This is partly practical (i.e. who is available?) and partly interpretative (i.e. do they offer variation within the phenomenon?) The sample is representative of a perspective or research question, rather than of any section of the population. In this case, the participants were all members of the same class (and had been for many years) and therefore had many experiences in common.

This approach is common in phenomenological research (Giorgi, 1994, Giorgi, 2006, Benner, 1994, Polkinghorne, 1989), which usually works with a small number of cases (Finlay, 2009, Crotty 1996). Each individual is in effect a case study, though in this study, none of the twelve cases were explored in sufficient depth to justify the term case study (Bassey, 1999). However, the approach was idiographic (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989, Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2009), meaning it focused on the individual as an example of a more common phenomenon. Obviously the size of this sample significantly restricts the possibility of making generalizations and claims at the end of thesis. I was conscious of this from the outset and assumed that at best other researchers in similar situations might learn from my analysis.

Given the research decision to look at participants from a single school class (on account of their participation in a specific community of practice) and given that I wanted to keep the number of cases to around 12, I took those who happened to be at school on a certain day. Once the final exams were finished there was a week, in which the students awaited official confirmation of their grades before leaving school formally. I asked a group of students, who I had taught in class 13 and who were in school to hand books in to the library, if they were willing to participate in my research. I briefly explained what was involved and told them that I was interested in their learning, without going into further detail. At this stage I also outlined my research ethics and emphasized that any data would be treated anonymously and that the transcripts would only be seen by those assessing my thesis, including two external academics who would read two sets of (anonymous) data. I had previously asked permission from my own school, which was given.

The students knew I was doing an education doctorate and that I was interested in studying learning. All twelve students present volunteered, which conveniently was the number I had wanted though there was a slight gender imbalance of 5 males and 7 females. Since I had a very narrow time window, I accepted all who volunteered and sought no more. I did not ask parents to sign consent forms since the students were all nineteen years old and were in my judgement fully capable of making the decision on their own. In Germany the age of majority is 18.

I wanted to do research with students in my own school, because, as I have said, they had the experiences I was looking for. These included being members of a community of learners and practice. Most of them had completed 13 years at the school in the same class, sharing the same range of educational experiences. They were also used to talking

about their learning with teachers. It is the practice in my school that one-on-one talks are conducted with the students throughout the upper school and in particular at the end of class 12 (age 18) in which they look back at their experiences at school and look forward to the coming year of exam preparation. Furthermore, the students in the study had used forms of scaffolded reflection using portfolio (as explained in chapter one) that I thought might be relevant. I am unaware of other Waldorf schools that use scaffolded reflection in this way.

I chose the last possible moment during the students' school career to gather data, namely just before they left school and dispersed (literally around the world). Given that the exams were now over and nothing could affect the results, my influence over them as teacher was minimized (though not of course removed), in the sense that they might feel that if they were cooperative (or not), it might benefit or disadvantage them in terms of grades. Of course power relations between teachers and pupils are always asymmetrical, which compounds the general tendency for interviewees to want to accommodate their interviewer (Kvale and Brinkman, 2008). Again, by choosing this moment I hoped to minimize this effect.

These young people were self-confident, interested, relaxed (after months of exam stress) and, I think, trusting. They were all 19 years of age and thus well able to take responsibility for their participation. They were not 'trapped' in a school situation. They didn't even have to come to school. Their attendance for the interviews was entirely voluntary and they came to school only to conduct the interviews. I think the tone of the students during the recorded interviews shows their confidence and relative independence and even willingness to contradict me or not be led in directions they didn't want to go in.

Finally, none of them had any idea that I was investigating learning as becoming a subject and I am fairly certain they would have been unfamiliar with these terms. They may have been influenced by my role as teacher, perhaps they were polite about the subjects I teach and were generally eager to please, but none of this detracts from the fact that they drew and narrated aspects of their lives and talked about their experiences in learning spaces, without knowing what I was 'looking for'. I believe that the steps I took to reduce my influence as a teacher over the participants were overtly effective, though I am sure that influence tacitly remained.

I did not want to wait until they left school because I wanted to interview them while they were still embedded in the class community and learning culture they had been part of over many years. I knew from experience how quickly this experience of being embedded in the school community dissolves once they leave school at this age. Finally, the students were clearly at a key moment of transition in their lives and thus in a situation I hoped might be conducive to learning as becoming a subject. The downside of this arrangement – choosing the last week at school – was that I had little time to arrange and conduct the interviews. I knew I had only one real chance to 'capture' them in this 'state' of still being pupils, though at the very end of this process.

3.5 Research ethics

Before embarking on the thesis I submitted an ethics protocol to the University of Plymouth's Research Ethics Subcommittee, which was approved. I reviewed this

regularly during the actual research process, modifying (though not substantially) the texts of consent forms and information as necessary. I sought informed consent from the school and the participants. Examples of the documentation are shown in Appendix 3. The participants were informed verbally, once as a group and then individually before each interview and each signed a consent form in my presence. They were assured that I would give confidentiality high priority, though I did note that absolute anonymity was not possible to guarantee since anyone reading the thesis and knowing me might be able to deduce which students participated in the study, though the likelihood of this was minimal. The risks, however, seemed acceptable to all involved. The topic did not involve any difficult or intimate issues and criticism of others was not involved. Participants were informed about the aims of the research in terms that would not compromise the study but they were offered the opportunity to learn more or indeed to contact my director of studies at the university.

My horizon, in the Gadamerian sense, as a researcher at the start of the research process was important to establish. To this end I reflected on my assumptions and expectations and noted these in my journal. Since the process of arriving at my research questions and later research design were fairly prolonged, this process of reflection occurred in several stages. In summary, my starting position was the expectation that the participants would probably be capable of biographic learning, in the sense that Alheit (Alheit, 2009) defines it. I thought they would be able to construct coherent narratives of their lives and school careers. I thought the aspect of personal development/ becoming a subject would be related to particular events and experiences, though I was uncertain, which school related learning situations would be mentioned and I suspected that this would be individually very varied. I also assumed that the exams, which had totally dominated the last year at school of the participants would also be strongly identified as influential for their personal development, or rather for them personally. The idea of distinguishing informal from formal learning situations as sites of personal development occurred at a very late stage in my thinking and only really became clear once I started the interviews.

Teacher-pupil relationships are always asymmetrical (van Manen, 1991) from the perspective of power, care and relationships. Teachers seek to realize pedagogical (and often social and cultural) intentions that are not initially the pupil's. They can do this by virtue of their powerful position as adults, teachers, representatives of institutions and even as servants of the state (in Germany state school teachers are usually life-long civil servants, *Beamten*). They can exercise their power particularly through the awarding of grades. When I discussed this with colleagues informally, almost all of them said that pupils, particularly as groups and whole classes can also exercise power over teachers by rebelling, refusing to participate, bad behaviour and complaining to their parents. Quite a few teachers are afraid of pupils and the potential risk to their careers. This indicates how complex perceptions of power are.

At the same time, the relationship between teacher and pupil is (or should be) a relationship of care (Noddings, 1992), interaction and mutuality, ideally relational care, in which the teacher expresses care by trying to understand the pupil and adopts her point of view (Noddings, 2005), p.15). Again the relationship is asymmetrical, since it is the teachers who actively care for the pupils because it is part of their professional ethic. Van Manen (1991, p. 74) speaks of a "double intentional relation" between teacher and pupil, meaning that the teacher cares not only for what the child is and has been but also

for what the pupil will become. Other researchers (Schussler and Collins, 2006) also emphasize that understanding is the essential ingredient in care relationships between teachers and pupils. Loebell (Loebell, 2017) formulated the central task of the Waldorf teacher as having to reckon with that part of the child's individuality that is still hidden and which will only emerge fully in the future.

This requires the teacher to maintain a certain attitude of care, or in van Manen's (1991) terms, tact. Van Manen's (van Manen, 2008) discussion of tact is equally pertinent to the pedagogical situation of the teacher-pupil relationship, as it is to the research situation. Van Manen (2015, 2008, 1991) has explored the historical meanings of tact and draws attention to Gadamer's (2013, p.15) discussion of the early hermeneutic scholar Helmholtz, to highlight two aspects of tact. Tact, says Gadamer, is a particular sensitivity to the situation, "for which knowledge from general principles does not suffice. Hence an essential part of tact is that it is tacit and unformulable...thus tact helps one preserve distance. It avoids the offensive, the intrusive, the violation of the intimate sphere of the person" (2013, p.15). Gadamer uses this thought to define his notion of Bildung, as, "keeping oneself open to what is other,-to other, more universal points of view" (2013, p.16). These more universal points of view are "by no means a universality of concept or understanding...the universal viewpoints to which the cultivated man [sic] (gebildet) keeps himself open are not a fixed applicable yardstick, but are presented to him only as the viewpoint of possible others." This 'cultivated' (i.e. experienced through hermeneutic activity) consciousness is like a sense, Gadamer says, comparable to the sense of sight, which is open to all phenomena within the field of the visible. This sense of tact- as consciousness, however, combines many, potentially all, sense fields and is thus of a more universal or common character. The cultivated sense of tact opens the teacher/researcher to a multi-dimensional experience of the pupil/research participant.

It is worth mentioning here the similarity between this notion and Steiner's (1996, pp.138-141) description of the sense of the other as an individuality or as a subject, which he refers to as the sense of the 'I' of the other. This sense integrates all the modalities of sense impressions we have of the other person and facilitates a holistic perception of the other. This is- an ability Waldorf teachers are supposed to develop. In order to achieve this awareness, Steiner says, the observer must stop thinking about the other, since this actually constitutes self-consciousness, and momentarily think with the other (Steiner, 1963, p.275). Both of these ideas resemble Stein's (1989) phenomenological notion of non-psychological empathy, that I discuss below, in which the other is 'given' to us as an experience of bodily presence.

Thus tact has two dimensions; a caring form of intersubjective interaction between teacher and pupil in which the teacher becomes open to the pupil as she is and the process of her becoming, and secondly, a hermeneutic stance taken by the human science researcher that Gadamer calls the process of Bildung. In both cases, the researcher/teacher is trying to create a caring space in which power is minimized and then tries to be sensitive to what the pupil is experiencing by 'embodying' the position of the other. This involves the teacher/research holding back her thoughts and feeling and at the same time opening the mind to a more generalized understanding to the particular and unique situation of the other. This is the position that I tried to enact in the interviews. It is a phenomenological attitude (Kvale, 1996).

The relationship between teachers and pupils can also be experienced as an encounter (Uitto and Syrjälä, 2008), that is, as a caring relationship expressed by and through the body, in the sense used by Noddings (1992). In such an encounter, the caring is also asymmetrical, and the teacher expresses this bodily, through gesture, showing interest and taking actions to enable the pupil to feel safe, seen and heard and accepted, and in creating a situation of trust, thus opening the possibility for an encounter. Uitto and Syrjälä (2008, p. 368) understand an encounter as a meeting that implies “activity and also needing to promote activity”, as opposed to ‘relationship’, which implies something fixed and stable. In an encounter, something meaningful happens to both parties that changes both. Through encountering, the teacher-pupil relationship is being built through mutual recognition.

This discussion of the teacher-pupil relationship (that perhaps enables encounters) provides a background for my deliberations on the research and at the same time offers a view of what the encounter in the research situation could become. The situation of the young people (aged 19) in the study, a week before leaving school and in most cases leaving home, is not quite the kind of teacher-pupil relationship most of the literature discusses, which focuses mainly on relationships with young children (Baker, 2006). Thus I had to strike a balance between taking account of my role as teacher (albeit with little real influence over the students, since all the exams were over and the students were about to leave school) and treating them as young adults (who were not in any obvious sense in a vulnerable situation).

I gave considerable thought to my positionality as researcher and as a recent teacher of the participants and after consulting the literature on practitioner research in school settings (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012, Coghlan and Brannik, 2005, Herr and Anderson, 2005, Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989, Hopkins, 2002), I drew up a table of risks and benefits in my research journal. The criteria I applied were; minimizing harm, respecting the autonomy of the participants, protecting privacy, offering reciprocity and treating people equitably, which Hammersley and Traianou (2012) outline. Acknowledging that these principles are relative to the situation and at the same time must enable the research questions to be asked, I judged them in relation to my assessment of the situation and shared this with a critical friend. The following (somewhat condensed and ‘tidied-up’) extract from my journal shows my thinking on this, at the stage at which I had formulated my research questions and had a fairly clear idea how I wanted to collect the data.

Excerpt from research my journal: influence on the participants/positionality

role	risks	benefits	ameliorating action
Creating an encounter	Fixed teacher-pupil relationship pertains	Could become an encounter, in which mutual interest and openness outweigh power and make the caring aspect somewhat more balanced.	Inner preparation of teacher/researcher
Interviewer conducting open interview	Interviewee says what she thinks I want to hear, to be	Open interview form - direct communication,	Friendly greeting, gratitude, short explanation of

	helpful, to be seen as well-behaved, to be seen in a good light, talk could lead away from intended topics and prompting might make my intentions obvious	entering a process together, informal, conversational tone, more likely to talk about lived experiences openly and freely	aims, put participant at ease, start with artistic work, then we have something concrete to talk about, no threatening questions, no exposure, only say what they want to say
figure of authority	I am probably a figure of authority for these students, this might inhibit them, they might think I have a strong view which they need to align with.	I believe they have respect for me, because I have shown them and continue to show them respect, they know I am genuinely interested in them and in educational issues, they already know that I know a lot about education, they may sense that this is a serious activity and take it seriously. I do not see the participants as vulnerable (all over 18)	Frankness and openness to any questions that they have, being sensitive to the situation of each person, meet at eye-level, show how important their experiences are for me
role as teacher	Participants may feel that they might be disadvantaged if they say the 'wrong' thing in school terms, they may feel unwilling to share personal stuff with me as teacher, they may have had bad educational experiences with me	They have learned that I am interested in them as people, that I have no possibility of influencing their grades- the interviews are 'off duty', We have talked about growing up, development and biography in lessons- this is not a new or threatening topic, to my knowledge none of them had bad school	Encourage them to speak freely and reassure them of anonymity, no harm etc. encourage them to see me as a researcher not as a teacher- because I want to learn from them- use these words

		experiences with me- I can think of no cloud of unresolved issues or hurts hanging over us (back in class 9/ 10 there were certainly some discipline issues with T, S and possible F- but nothing since then- has been pretty constructive and harmonious)	
male adult	Some inhibitions about talking about personal experiences, perhaps they bring some tacit concerns or habits with them	I am a familiar male adult	Ask each participant if he/she wants to have a friend there during the interview, keep polite distance, friendly but formal greeting and exercise tact, sit other side of the table
harm	Possible exposure of private or personal stuff,	The participants may find the tasks interesting and enjoyable, open interview has no agenda, tell me what you experienced doing the drawings- no obligation to go anywhere they don't want to go	Make the voluntary nature of participation as clear as possible, explain privacy but impossibility of absolute anonymity, don't follow up if things get painful or too personal, allow them space and opportunity to interrupt. Ensure data is well-safeguarded and reporting generalized, use pseudonyms
autonomy	They may feel pressurized or obliged to	I decide on tasks and questions, and how the data is analyzed,	Be open about whole research process

	participate or reveal things,	participant validation not appropriate because I am doing the interpreting- their comments on analysis would be new data	
reciprocity	Possible disruption or threat to participants, threat to researcher, if they change their minds or withdraw permission	the situation could be non-threatening and interesting and provide an opportunity to learn something about themselves, also having a sense of contributing to an interesting project	Make the process interesting
Equitability	Some people may feel excluded, or judged	If people feel fairly treated they are more likely to open up and share their experiences	Ensure an open 'sampling' process so no one gets left out, treat all the same

On the basis of this analysis, I finalized my research design.

I believe I have addressed the issues of researcher influence over the participants in as careful a way as possible without ruling this out. Other aspects regarding the validity of the study are dealt with below. The names of the participants have been changed and a single hard copy of the pseudonyms and real names is locked in a safe place. If they ever read the thesis they would probably recognize themselves and even others, though I do not quote extensively and have not cited any intimate or overly personal details.

3.6 The data collection

I have described at the beginning of the thesis how I gathered the data using biographic drawings, positional graphics and semi-structured interviews. The purpose of the non-verbal methods was to capture the participants' relatively spontaneous, un-reflected responses. I tried to say as little as possible, both during the drawings and before and during the interviews, in order to minimize my influence on the students. Having been told that I was interested in their experiences of formal and informal learning over the upper school (class 9 to 12), they neither showed surprise nor concern, since I had frequently shown them my interest in learning processes. The topic appeared to be devoid of any threatening aspects.

Given the embodied nature of dispositions, positions and much knowledge, and bearing in mind that putting such experiences into words may already change them, I wanted to use art-based non-verbal methods to enable the participants to access and express

something of these embodied, tacit and unconsidered experiences and the learning that they were linked to. In a second step I conducted semi-structured interviews in which I asked them about their lived experiences of doing the drawing and the graphics, as an indirect way making at least some of those embodied experiences available to me as researcher. This indirect method is necessary because if I ask the participants directly about their lived experiences of things they did a number of years ago, all they will be able to tell me is what they now remember and construct in retrospect. The artistic methods are designed to encourage the expression of embodied experiences (Weber, 2008), which the participants then talk about. Therefore, I am not interpreting the content of the drawing. The participants will explain what they experienced whilst drawing them and what it means for them.

The biographical drawing will perhaps 'activate' the production of constructs about significant events in their lives. The first graphic, which asks about which people, activities and things are most important for the participant at that particular moment in their lives and may enable them to position themselves in the context of their lives. This may offer information that can be taken up in the interview in probing questions. This activity focuses on the biographical element in the moment, whereas the biographical drawing specifically asks for a perspective over time. The second graphic offers information that can be quantified (e.g. which learning situations were most important to them, in relation to their personal development?) but not hermeneutically interpreted. Depending on what the participants identify as important, this may offer some insights into the link between learning situations and the participants' statements about personal development, which can be taken up in the interviews.

It is widely acknowledged that people organize their experiences and position themselves through narrative (Polkinghorne, 1988, Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, Bruner, 1990, Goodson, 2006). As Leitch (2006) points out however, it is less widely acknowledged what role unconscious, embodied and tacit elements have in this process, and indeed just how narrative knowledge and narrative understanding work. Many aspects of lived experience remain inaccessible to scientific methods because they lie below the threshold of consciousness and "are thus impossible to articulate in words" (Leitch, 2006, p.551). As Kelly (2011) points out, this is a serious gap in our understanding if we follow Dewey's (1922) contention that much patterned behavior is tacit, embodied, not articulated and even unintended. Kelly's interest is in how teachers can interrogate and modify their unconsidered behavior, especially if this privileges some pupils and disadvantage others. He poses the question as to how such behaviours are learned and how teachers can become aware of them. This question also applies to how people position themselves biographically, professionally, or in the case of the present study, how they experience their own learning.

In the context of a study about how people position themselves in narrative accounts of their life-course, Biesta et al (2011) draw on a Bourdieuan account of field and habitus to account for how people are positioned and position themselves at the macro-social level of class, gender, education, social position and so on. Kelly (2011) addresses how the micro-level of the individual behavior relates to the macro social level. In doing so he critiques many socio-cultural accounts of social activity that focus on deliberative and considered activities and tend to ignore the tacit and unconsidered aspects, which make up a large part of common forms of behavior. He calls on Dewey's account of habits and Sennett's (2009) account of craft expertise to identify that much social activity is

unconsidered, embodied, purposive and can be adapted in situations to enable people to pursue their goals. Taking a view that rejects mental and physical dualism, we must acknowledge that much of our experience of participation in social practice and shared experiences is remembered in embodied form. We can think of this in terms of dispositions, which following Bourdieu (1993), are like patterned behavioural structures. Such habitual behavior that is embedded in social activity includes not only movements and actions but also their social meaning and, following Wenger (1998), also identities.

Kelly recommends that such unconsidered dispositions in teachers need to be raised to consciousness and explored reflexively. I think this observation also applies to the research task of gathering lived experiences of learning, habitual ways of thinking, seeing and being and the positions that are being taken and given. However, he notes, the problem of making dispositions and habits conscious is the role of language. He notes that it is important to remember “that when embodiments are put in words they are changed; words can never fully capture the tacit and explicit, and the more one reflects on embodied practice the further one moves away from it.” As a consequence, he points out that “immediate descriptions of lived experience based on actual events have a different status to reflective accounts, the former being closer to actual practice” (2011, p.567). This observation is followed by reference to Leitch’s (2006) work on the importance of other forms of representation. She writes that writing and traditional forms of inquiry do not completely convey “the sense of felt embodied knowledge in the same way that an image, a poem, a sculpture or a play does” (2006, p. 552).

These considerations led me to look at arts based research forms that create “open texts that endeavor to give voice to” what would otherwise be silent (Leitch, 2006, p.553). A number of scholars have described art as a mode of knowledge (Eisner, 2008), that ‘encourages’ (Weber, 2008) the expression of embodied knowledge that can subsequently be articulated and made conscious in talk and analysis. Weber writes, “images can be used to capture the ineffable...Some things just need to be shown, not merely stated. Artistic images can help us access those elusive hard-to-put-into-words aspects of knowledge that might otherwise remain hidden or ignored” (2008, p.44). However, as Theron et al, (Theron et al., 2011), point out, working with visual media is far from simple and there are competing theories about how best to use images in social science, since images have to be interpreted. For this reason, most arts-informed research involves art and talk, or draw and write (Backett-Milburn and McKie, 1999, McNiff, 2008, Mitchell et al., 2011). Thus drawing can be “a research tool that is often complemented by verbal research methods” and can involve collaborative meaning-making (Mitchell et al, 2011, p.20).

I had previous experience of this process whilst working on a peace-education project in Kosovo shortly after the war in that country, in which a group of young women who were training to become early years’ teachers were able to express their experiences of the process of training in the style of pictures that young children draw (Rawson, 2013). I was furthermore inspired by the use of *sociograms* (drawings representing the social network young people positioned themselves in), *geneograms* (a drawing in which relationships to family members and friends are depicted in terms of degrees of contact and intimacy), *place-mapping* (maps showing where the young people go and don’t go and the activities associated with the location) and *life-historigrams* (graphical depictions of spatial stages of participants’ life-courses) used in a project with youth in

Hamburg and London (Räthzel 2008) and (Hoerder, 2005) in a similar project in Canada and Hamburg. Rätsel explains the use of these methods (drawings, collages, photographs and hand drawn maps), which they characterize as “explication of the implicit” (2006, 26). Hoerder et al (2005) explain the rationale behind these non-verbal modes of representation of lived experience as ways to “circumvent linguistic restrictions in formal writing and researcher-guided discussions...” (2006, p. 28).

Among the methods recommended by Leitch (2006) are autobiographical time-lines, which are drawings through which participants “represent symbolically and creatively personally...significant life events” (2006, p.555), and self-system pictures in which participants are invited to show the ‘felt relationship’ between themselves and their school and the people in it. In these and in other methods, the art task is followed up by the participants’ verbal, narrative accounts of their experiences.

As Leitch reflects, such methods may enable the researcher to go beyond descriptive and analytical elements and explore deeper layers of meaning, that would perhaps not become visible in written or verbal accounts; “through the creation of images in relation to self, new meanings, previously unaware, unvoiced, unexpressed, half-understood came to be significant and capable of being incorporated into the participants’ social and/or emotional understandings of themselves, to the point that new actions of directions could be taken in their lives” (2006, p.566).

As Cohen et al (Cohen et al., 2011) point out, visual data (i.e. drawings), like other artefacts “can convey messages, even if those messages may be unclear” (2011, p531). They point out that it depends on the research question as to how artefacts can be used. Flick (Flick, 2005, Mitchell, 1994) refers to a hermeneutics of images (Bildhermeneutic) and Bohnsack speaks of a recent ‘pictorial turn’ in social research (Bohnsack, 2003), after a long period of being marginalized by the focus on text. Indeed, in objective hermeneutics, images are ‘read’ as texts and their iconography interpreted. They cite Mitchell (Mitchell, 1994) as pointing out that social reality is not only represented in pictures, but “actually constituted and brought into being by picture-making” (1994, p.41). Mannheim (Mannheim, 1964, Boehm, 1985) describes images as involved with (eingelassen, which can also mean to be drawn into) the pre-reflexive, implicit or a-theoretical state of knowledge that is structured through habitual actions, learnt through mimetic processes of participation and imitation and through the internalization of social scenes and gestures. Boehm speaks of images and language participating in the same realm of pictorial qualities (Boehm, 1985).

Mitchell et al (2011) offer some guidelines for using drawings in research (in a draw/talk arrangement), which include making the invitation to draw reassuring, given that not everyone feels capable of drawing. In this study the pupils were used to drawing through their Waldorf education. The second aspect is choice of materials. I chose the familiar and easy-to-use tools of paper and coloured pencils, of the kind typically used in the Waldorf school (though not in the upper school). Mitchell et al (2011) also recommend a leisurely pace and I followed this advice. They also recommend a shared analysis. I did not do this because I was not interested in interpreting the picture, but of using the activity as a way of drawing out tacit experiences. Therefore, after the drawing was finished, I asked the participants to talk about what they experienced whilst doing the drawing, which is different from constructing shared meaning. In fact, I did not interpret the content of the drawings or

graphics at all, which is where my approach differs from most art-informed research, except to quantify the items, as I discuss below in section 3.7.

The three art based methods used in this study sought to elicit the non-verbal representations of embodied experiences in the way referred to above. The biographical drawing was designed to provide an opportunity for the participants to construct an image of representing their life-course depicting the events they felt (at that moment) were significant in relation to their learning and personal development, much as Leitch's (2006) autobiographical time-lines seek to do. The graphics were specifically designed to focus on the positioning activity. Both tasks invited the participants to take a subject-orientated perspective (Holzkamp, 1996, Grotlüschen, 2014) on their life situation and relationship to school-based learning situations and, in the positional graphic one, position the things and people that were (at that moment in time) significant to them in terms of their learning and personal development, or in positional graphic two, their relationship to learning situations. By placing themselves in the centre (the starting position), the significant items were then arranged in order of significance spatially on the graphic. By choosing to place the self at the spatial centre, I wished to emphasize this central subject-perspective but also to allow the possibilities that the spatial qualities of above, below, left, right may have significance.

Here I was influenced by Ingold's (Ingold, 2007, Ingold, 2000, Ingold, 2011) work on the significance of lines and spatial representations in human cultural history and the everyday embodied skills of orientation and wayfaring, which are graphic analogies to storytelling. Ingold distinguishes between mapping and wayfaring. Maps are used by people who are strangers to the place. Wayfarers know their way around. Wayfaring resembles story-telling. Wayfaring is the process of moving, both literally and metaphorically, from one place to another in a region, which is not simply geographical but historical and, like landscape, comprises a composite of constructions and places that have histories, meaning and belong in a matrix of relationships. Mapping, however, involves consciously plotting a course from one location to another space (Ingold, 2000, p. 219). Knowing is like mapping, "not because knowledge is like a map, but because the products of mapping (graphic inscriptions), as those of knowing (stories) are fundamentally un-maplike" (2000, p. 220).

Thus the narrative biographical drawings have more the character of wayfaring, showing places that have stories and meaning that are embodied but essentially familiar. The graphics are more like maps, that consciously delineate specific relationships in a more abstract, static and conscious way. Both graphics and drawings, however, differ, for the reasons given above, from verbal narrative in being close to embodied understandings. All three forms of artistic expression reflect Ingold's notion that "to find one's way is to advance along a line of growth, in a world which is never quite the same from one moment to the next, and whose future configuration can never be fully known. Ways of life are therefore never determined in advance, as routes to be followed, but have continually to worked out anew." (2000, p.242).

To sum up, the artistic activities in the research design serve to draw out embodied understandings, meanings and positions. It was not the task of the researcher to interpret and articulate these meanings, but initially to observe the process. The participants are then asked to talk about their experience of the activity and it is in this

process, in conversation with the researcher, that understandings and positions become visible that the researcher can subsequently interpret.

The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to create an informal, open conversational atmosphere yet allow me to respond spontaneously to what the participants said (Kvale, 1996). I was open to meanings being co-constructed in the conversation, which did indeed occur on several occasions. In retrospect, very little talk during the interviews did not offer data that contributed to the themes. Though I describe the interviews as conversational, I kept my side of the conversation as minimal as possible, as the transcripts show. It generally took very little prompting to get most of the participants to talk freely.

The semi-structured interview focuses on a specific area of experience but asks open questions that are guided by theory and aim to make the implicit knowledge of the participant explicit (Flick, 2005, p.127-9). The semi-structured interview aims to encourage the participants to “talk at some length and in their own way” (Drever, 2003). What the interviewer says, is designed to prompt answers and to ensure they say as much as possible, and to probe in order to get the participants to expand in detail (Drever, 2003, p. 11). This is necessary to facilitate talk about lived experiences, and, where necessary, to prevent the participants from indulging in too much interpretation. A semi-structured interview often assumes that participants and interview share a common frame of reference, as is the case in this study (Drever, 2003, p.15). The interview is conducted like a conversation, though it is structured by the researcher. In this case the structure followed the pattern or schedule, following an initial greeting, starting with the invitation to do the drawings and graphics. When these were finished each interview looked at the biographical drawing and then the graphics in turn. The question was always a variation of, “could you please talk to me about what you experienced when you did the drawing/graphic.” Then only prompts and probes were used. The interviewer stuck to this very simple formula. Since there were only three tasks to talk about, it required no formal schedule of questions. The prompts and probes were formulated out of the situation in the course of the interview.

Overall, each interview followed this pattern and sequence of themes, though there was an openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions, in keeping with an open phenomenological approach, along the lines of “I want to understand the meaning of your experiences” (Kvale, 1996, p.125), and avoiding interpretive questions. As Kvale puts it, “a research interview follows an unwritten script, with different roles specified for the two actors” (Kvale, 1996, p.125). It is an asymmetrical relationship of power (as discussed above) because the interviewer maps out the journey, apportions the roles and determines the topics. This was one of the reasons I tried to say as little as possible during the interviews by simply using a topic-opening question and only prompting where necessary (and keeping an eye on the time), as well as making encouraging and interests gestures and sounds to indicate my interest and to reassure that all was well.

Kvale (1996) has outlined the key qualities of the qualitative research interview, emphasizing the interpersonal, conversational quality based on mutual interest and shaped as dialogue. It requires an atmosphere of trust in which the participant feels safe and free to take part or not, without negative consequences. This means expressions of personal feelings are appropriate, including on the part of the researcher. The attitude of the researcher is one of empathic listening. Kvale (1996) also offers criteria for the

interviewer, including that the interviewer should be knowledgeable of the theme. In my case this was guaranteed by role as teacher in the school. The interviewer should be able to structure the interview adequately and steer the conversation. This was achieved by a relatively simple schedule and the polite familiarity between me and the participants. I did not tell them at the end of the interview what I had learned, as Kvale suggests, mainly to avoid them passing this information to other participants waiting to be interviewed. The tasks and questioner were clear and the tone was gentle and sensitive, allowing participants to finish what they were saying, allow for pauses and offer encouragement through gesture and body language. The researcher tries to be open to all aspects that seem to be important to the participant.

I also became more experienced as the interviews progressed, by which I mean I was more quickly attuned to the participants and could formulate my questions or comments in ways that led them to talk about their experiences rather than respond to me. The pattern of the interviews was generally a question along the lines of “can you tell me what you experienced...” followed by clarifying prompts, which sometimes led into open exchanges, before I introduced a new focus. I did not follow a schedule of specific questions, since the focus was clear in my mind. The interviews were conducted over two days in the Upper School library, which was convenient for all concerned since it was free following the exams. The students were curious, relaxed, enthusiastic and serious. I explained beforehand what I was going to ask them to do.

I did not seek participant validation of the interpretation, partly for practical reasons of access but mainly because of my hermeneutic phenomenology methodology, in which the researcher engages interactively with the text. Some researchers (Giorgi, 2008) feel that participant verification of interpretations are unreliable because participants cannot confirm the meaning of their experiences, which anyway are fluid, situated and contingent. My own view is that feedback from participants on the data analysis would have been new data rather than a verification of ‘old’ data and as such would have needed to be interpreted.

I also interviewed a teacher in my school, Gundula, who at the time of the study was responsible for organizing the portfolio process connected with the work experience placements and projects. She signed a consent form giving me permission to cite her. I did not analyze her interview and have drawn on it only to provide background information about the school’s practices (rather than translating all the texts in the student handbook- her account is briefer and did not need to be translated). She also describes her experience of the practices, which I do cite at one point in the analysis. I have put the whole interview in Appendix 5 as background information. Finally, I have collected examples of written reflections on the learning process that the participants had in their portfolios. I later realised how useful these are to illustrate experiences of learning, by which time I had no more access to the original participants. Since I always copy the students’ comments for purposes of my own reflection, I have used some of these from some recent teaching blocks, in which I had the opportunity to ask the students involved (class 12, 18 years olds) for permission to use these in my thesis (and in a study into reflection that I am currently conducting) anonymously and all agreed. Some of the participants brought along their portfolios from various projects and practicals, as well as written reflections that they had written at the end of teaching blocks, which they are encouraged to write in some teaching blocks. I have drawn on

their comments in English so they don't have to be translated. I used the same process of analysis as for the transcripts of the interviews and constructed themes.

To summarize of the data collection, I used the following sources of data:

- Biographical drawing
- Positional graphic 1 (important people, activities, artefacts)
- Positional graphic 2 (learning spaces in relation to personal development)
- Conversational interviews with students and one teacher
- Written reflections on experiences of work experience, projects or English lessons, all written before class 13, i.e. over a year previously. Some written material from a subsequent class 12.
-

3.7 The analysis of the non-verbal data

The primary purpose of the non-verbal tasks (the biographical drawing and two graphics) was, as I have explained above, to draw closer to embodied meanings by constructing non-verbal images or representations and then to talk about these in the interview. Images, however, also have an epistemological status of their own. As Gadamer (2013, p. 68) argues, an image may point to a meaning without pointing out what that meaning is. Gadamer (2013, p. 135) introduces the notion of the ontological valence of a picture. Ontology is the origin of being and valence signifies an inner energetic structure or dynamic that holds something together or underlies its structure and manifestation (Deniau, 2007). Gadamer argues that the image can be understood as being in itself. It does not have to be reduced to being a representation of, or a symbol for something else.

Images are in a sense a kind of language. Following Gadamer, being that can be understood is language that mirrors some, but not all of the meaning. Since the image is a human artefact, the embodied and culturally embedded being of the person who made the image are also present in the image to some extent. This is true of all artefacts. They express something of their origins, yet also possess ontological valence in themselves. Thus using pictorial hermeneutic methods (Rittelmeyer and Parmentier, 2006), developed out of an understanding of Gadamer's work on understanding images, the drawings can be structurally analyzed.

In structural analysis the overall effect of the image (e.g. the organisation of the elements, symbols or pictorial representations) on the researcher can be described. This does not reveal anything of the contents (in this study, the participants address this in the interviews) but the researcher can describe the image as generating an overall impression of coherence or incoherence (i.e. the elements in the drawing cohere, are linked or connected to each other, form a sequence or otherwise 'hang together'). All the biographic drawings are reproduced in Appendix 6. I was thus able to assess each drawing in terms of its coherence.

As stated already, the function of the drawings was to draw out tacit understandings and the participants were asked to talk about their experiences of doing the drawings. The drawings themselves were only subjected to a structural analysis and not to an analysis of their content.

3.8 Analysis of the graphics

The analysis of the graphics does not involve any hermeneutic analysis since I simply record the frequency with which certain personal interests (graphic 1) or school-related learning spaces (graphic 2) are positioned as 'important' by the participants. I distinguished the priorities given by the participants by placing four concentric rings over the cards and allocated the items in four 'rings' of increasing distance from the centre at which the word *ME* (in German *ICH*) was placed. The participants had been told that the most important items should be closest to the word *ME*. Where it was ambivalent I clarified this verbally during the activity, making notes. The cards were then photographed. Afterwards the items were listed in four columns indicating their relative importance for the participant.

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In structural analysis the overall effect of the image (e.g. the organisation of the elements, the use of colour, contrast, line, symbols or pictorial representations) on the researcher can be described. This does not reveal anything of the contents (in this study, the participants address this in the interviews) but the researcher can describe the image as generating an overall impression of coherence or incoherence. All the biographic drawings are reproduced in Appendix 6.

3.9 The analysis of the interviews

I outline here the steps taken in the analysis of the transcripts of the interviews. I drew on Crotty's (1998) description of three stages of hermeneutic analysis, an empathic, an interactive and a transactional mode of reading the texts. The whole process of reduction led to the construction of themes. The analysis followed a sequence of steps, which I explain below:

1. transcribing the full texts of the interviews in German,
2. constructing natural meaning units (in English) from the transcription (in German) for each case,
3. descriptive comments,

4. constructing themes for each case,
5. constructing super-ordinated themes for each case,
6. comparing the cases to construct meta-themes across the cases,
7. discussing the meta-themes,
8. constructing a theoretical account to explain the data.

Firstly, I transcribed the texts verbatim in German. I then asked a colleague to check these for accuracy. I then transferred the transcription to the first column of a table with four columns, the second containing natural meanings units, the third comments and notes and the fourth, the themes (three examples of which can be seen in Appendix 8). The data was thus analyzed into four columns:

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
transcription of the text in German based on electronic recording	natural meaning units in English, in third person (direct except quotes)	comments and notes	constructed themes, in abbreviated form

Table 1. Showing the stages in the initial analysis

The full text was then reduced in a first cycle of coding (Saldana, 2009) to ‘natural meaning units’ (Kvale, 1996, p.194-5), so that these retained the complexity of meanings but reduced the volume of text. These were reproduced in third person form and reported speech (because in my experience as a translator, it is not possible to convey voice and linguistic idiosyncrasies through reduction), except where direct quotes seemed necessary in terms of conveying meanings important to my analysis. At this stage the text was written in English. Since translation is always mediation and interpretation, this seemed the most appropriate stage to translate, because the meanings can be most directly checked against the original. Hereafter all reductions and analytic text were written in English. This phase represents what Crotty (1998) calls the empathetic stage of hermeneutic analysis.

There followed a phase of analysis of the natural meaning units, in which I made notes highlighting key words or phrases, linguistic aspects relating to translation, explanations given by the participant, relevant background knowledge, reference to the drawings and graphics, ideas about coding, reflections and questions (much of which is recorded in my notes). Kvale describes this process of analysis as ‘analysis proper’ and says that it involves bringing the subject’s own meanings “into the light as well as providing new perspectives from the researcher on the phenomena” (1996, p. 190).

On the basis of this analysis I formulated a series of themes relating to each segment of text, in the form of brief statements or key words, which condense the theme. The categories or themes could be developed in advance guided by my reading (as outlined in chapter two) or they arose ad hoc during the analysis (Kvale, 1996, p.192). The themes are then stated as simply as possible and the researcher “attempts to read the subject’s answers without prejudice and to thematize the statements from her viewpoint as understood by the researcher” (Kvale, 1996, p.194). This phase still corresponds to what Crotty (1998) calls the empathic phase of hermeneutic analysis because the themes remain ‘faithful’ to the participant’s intentions as the researcher understands these.

A fourth step involves interrogating the meaning units and themes from the perspective of the research questions relating to learning to becoming a subject. This is equivalent to what Crotty (1998) calls the dialogic or interactive phase of interpretation, in which the researcher's horizon fusions with that in the data. I sought for connections across the themes and coded them into categories such as 'positioning', 'empathy', 'agency' or where links were made to semi-formal learning spaces or reflection. I refer to these categories as super-ordinated themes because super-ordinate simply means belonging to a higher category- higher in the sense of a greater level of abstraction in terms of constructing patterns within the themes at the lower, more concrete and specific level (Smith et al., 2009). The next level of reduction I have called meta-themes, for reasons I explain below, and I needed a term for the second level of reduction. Kvale (1996, p. 201) makes the important distinction at this stage, between analysis and interpretation. Interpretation goes beyond what the participant directly said and starts to work with "structures and relations of meaning not immediately apparent in the text. This requires a certain distance from what is said, which is achieved by a methodical or theoretical stance, recontextualizing what is said in a specific conceptual context" (1996, p. 201).

The table below shows, how I organized the superordinate themes. In Appendix 8 this stage of the analysis can be seen at the end of each table of analysis for each individual case. Following the collation of the themes under superordinated themes, I then formulated themes in statements, e.g. she shows strong biographical awareness and can order the selected events in her life in a coherent way.

Superordinated themes

empathy	positioning	C. agency	D. link to non-formal learning situations	E. narrative quality etc.

Table 2. showing the collation of the themes into superordinated themes. Themes from column 4 of the initial analysis, are copied into each superordinated thematic category

The next step was to seek common themes and differences across all the individual cases and construct categories related to my theoretical stance. I did this by comparing the lists of super-ordinated themes from each data set using a grounded method (Corbin and Holt, 2011). Corbin and Holt (2011, p. 114) refer to categories as higher-level concepts that arise through comparison and that group lower-level concepts together that stand for and represent activities or situations. I have chosen to use Saldana's (2009, p142) term meta-themes (to avoid possible confusions with the term 'concept'). These constructions involve moving away from the participants and coming closer to the researcher's experience of the participants' experiences. It has, of course, to do justice to both.

This third stage of the hermeneutic process is what Crotty calls the transactional mode in which "out of our engagement comes something quite new...insights that were never in the mind of the author [i.e. participant] they have come into being in and out of our engagement with it" (1989, p110). Thus there are three levels of coding; themes based directly on the natural meaning units, super-ordinated themes for each case and then meta-themes across the cases. In chapter four I carry out the next step of illustrating and

discussing each meta-theme and offer a theoretical account for the implications of the data.

Following Kvale's (1996, pp. 48-49) explication of the canons of hermeneutic analysis, I moved between the parts and the whole of the transcripts, ensuring that the meaning units and themes I constructed were coherent with the tenor of the whole interview. I stopped analyzing when I had the impression that the meanings of the different themes seemed to form a coherent whole. I believe I have dealt with the other canon of hermeneutic analysis, that of being well-informed about the themes and the question of foregrounding my understandings and assumptions in chapter 2. The final canon refers to the precept that "every interpretation is a better understanding". I have done this in the process of discussing the outcomes by refining and expanding my initial interpretation.

In my empathetic listening I try to put myself in her position, try to see things from her standpoint and participate in a shared meaning, though without psychological identification. This is close to Gadamer's (2013) notion of a fusion of horizons.

Scharmer (Scharmer, 2009) uses a phenomenological approach to distinguish between four levels of listening; downloading or listening from habit, which reconfirms old opinions and judgements; listening from outside, through which we notice differences; listening from within as empathetic listening or seeing through another's eyes and generative listening, which connects the listener to what is emerging in him or herself in relation to the object and which brings about a shift in identity and position. During the interview I attend to the person. Listening to the recordings, making the transcript and then reading the transcript I make notes and formulate themes that emerge through the process of engagement through the four levels of listening. I notice what my perception of the person talking to me is doing to me through the act of understanding. Later, I relate these themes to the theory I am working with and finally go over the process, looking for evidence of assumptions and unconsidered factors.

In this study I sought to 'borrow' the lived experiences of the participants "in order to come to a better understanding of the deeper meaning or significance of an aspect of human experience, in the context of the whole of human experience " (van Manen, 1990). Van Manen returned to this metaphor of borrowing experience in his recent work, when he added that, "we gather data from other people's experiences because they allow us to become more experienced ourselves" (van Manen, 2014, p. 313). Listening to her and then working with this participant's transcript made me feel enriched with knowledge about people becoming subjects and deeply grateful for the experience.

3.10 Trustworthiness of the findings and the rigour of the study

The internal validity of this study depends on the transparency of the research process, the plausibility of the constructs (Cohen et al., 2011), the credibility of the data and clarity about the purpose of the study (Hammersley, 1992). In order to be transparent I have endeavoured to give the fullest account (in the space available) of my research methods and the reasons I chose them. I have included three examples of my analysis

procedures in Appendix 8 and given a full account of how the data were collected. I think that the purpose of the study is clear.

Following Kvale (Kvale, 1995), the validity of research based on interviews depends to a large extent on the craftsmanship of the research, rather than on standardized criteria. However, he outlines a number of issues that weaken or strengthen the validity or trustworthiness of qualitative research using interviews. These start with the soundness of the theoretical suppositions and their relevance to the research questions. I have devoted a sizable section of this and the previous chapter to this aspect. I believe the research design was adequate to the purpose under the circumstances, ethically sound and even beneficial to the participants, all of whom thanked me after the interviews. Many of the students commented after the interviews how interesting they had found the experience. I have outlined the steps I took to minimize my influence on the students in my role as one of their teachers.

In order to control the reliability of the translations and plausibility of the analysis and construction of themes, I sent the full data sets of two (anonymous) participants to two external judges. The first was Professor Peter Lutzker of the Freie Hochschule Stuttgart, the second was Dr. Julia Buchheit-Prieß of the University of Kiel. The former could be considered a Waldorf insider, which I think is important to understanding and judging the validity and appropriateness of the research in relation to its educational context. His work has been mainly in the field of foreign languages (Lutzker, 2007). The latter is an outsider in relation to Waldorf, whose main field is empirical methodologies in measuring experience in educational settings (Buchheit, 2009). Neither had any connection to the participants or the school. The judges were asked to read the data sets, check the translations, see whether the natural meaning units were justified and whether the themes were plausible. Both these 'neutral' second readers found the translations and analysis credible and consistent (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Their letters are reproduced in Appendix 9.

As discussed above, I spent considerable time reflecting on and writing about my prior-understandings, as is appropriate for a Gadamerian approach. Furthermore, I was aware of my position as researcher in my own institution. In this respect I found the advice of Herr and Anderson (Herr and Anderson, 2005) on insider positionality very helpful, though their text is about action research, most of the points apply to my situation. I believe I have been able to balance the advantages (familiarity with the field, knowledge of shared assumptions) and disadvantages (asymmetrical relationships between student and teacher and insider blind spots and possible bias) adequately in my research design.

My bias towards Steiner pedagogy is fairly clear. Having worked in this educational movement for 35 years, outside of the mainstream, often at considerable financial disadvantage, marginalised and in the face of scepticism and even disdain within the academic community, it has been necessary to have a strong commitment. I retain my teaching post in school because I enjoy the teaching and find the daily contact with school essential to my work as teacher educator. My bias is marked but, I believe, it is not blind. This study looks at one small part of Steiner pedagogy that I happen to think is good and worthy of study and may be of use to others to know about. There are a number of other areas of Waldorf practice I have been critical of (Rawson, 2014).

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION OF THE DATA AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Overview

In this chapter I list, illustrate and discuss the meta-themes I have constructed across the individual cases and justify and discuss my interpretation. As discussed in the previous chapter, these thematic categories are metaphorical in character. The participants are referred to by pseudonyms. Following discussion of the meta-themes I then explore possible theoretical explanations to account for what the data points to.

4.2 Analysis of the first graphic

I did not analyze the data gathered by the first graphic (relating to what things, people and activities were most important to the participants at the moment). The function of the exercise was to enable the participants to position themselves and then talk about this in the interviews. The graphics show that family and friends were the priorities and that personal interests and hobbies had given way temporarily to exams. The graphic was generally constructed with some seriousness, the students taking time, writing out post-its and weighing positions up before settling for an arrangement.

4.3 Analysis of the second graphic

The second graphic was a response to the question; which school-related learning spaces were most important for your personal development? Here I have compiled the participants' choices into a table. There were twelve participants, thus each number represents the total number of mentions from 12. The first circle was nearest to the word 'ME'.

	Inner circle	Second circle	Third circle	Fourth circle
Class play	10	2		
Independent project	8	3	1	
Social practical	7	5		
Class community	7			
English (as a foreign language)	6	5	2	
Orchestra	5	1		2
German	4	7	1	
Art	4	4		4
Geography	3	2	2	1
Farming practical	3	1		1
Business practical	2	4		
Sport	1	6	1	4
History	1	4	4	3
Biology	1	4	4	2
Music	1	4	3	2
French	1	3	4	4

Economics	1	3	5	6
Maths		3	5	2
Class trips		1		
Other practicals		3		
Eurythmy		2	3	4
Ethics		2	2	1
Physics			1	11
Chemistry				12

Table 3. Learning spaces related to personal development. The frequencies refer to the number of responses from the participants within the categories, shown as absolute numbers from 12 participants.

Collating the second graphic highlights that the non-formal learning spaces including , the class 12 play, independent projects, the social work experience practical (which are usually supported by scaffolded reflection), then the class community and orchestra were deemed more important for personal development than subjects. In the interviews the participants gave accounts of what they experienced whilst constructing this graphic and I include this in my discussion of the meta-themes below.

Those subjects that are not taught in the upper classes, such as gardening, handwork and other crafts are not mentioned, probably because they were not very present in their memories. The farming practical was in class 9, the business practical in class 10, that is, five and four years previously.

I analyzed the students' written reflections from their portfolios only in relation to the theme of reflection in general and to the subject block that it was related to. I discuss this below in section 4.5.9.

4.4 The meta-themes

It is important to note that the meta-themes are not identical to the super-ordinated themes from each case. I went back to the original transcripts as well as to the tables of super-ordinated themes and natural meaning units and engaged with them in relation to the literature and my prior-understandings. Thus the meta-themes represent a further stage of interpretation and reduction. There was a significant time gap between the initial analysis of the transcripts and the analysis across the cases and I had moved on in my thinking to some extent. Nevertheless, I think that the meta-themes are justified by the data. Each meta-theme can be related to over half, and in most cases, three-quarters of the participants.

The constructed meta-themes are (the sequence has no significance):

1. The biographical drawings show coherence of structure.
2. The person shows an ability to position herself in relation to others in different contexts and was able to say what she experienced while doing it.
3. The person puts herself in another's position (empathy).
4. The person shows narrative learning (narrative quality and efficacy).
5. The person shows biographic awareness.
6. The person shows resilience.
7. The person shows ecological agency.
8. The person shows aspiration and direction of learning.

9. Non-formal learning spaces are important for learning as becoming a person (personal development).
10. Scaffolded reflection is important for learning as becoming a person as subject.

4.5 Analysis of the meta-themes across the cases

Some of the meta-themes I have constructed overlap and could even be lumped together, such as narrative, biographic awareness and aspirations, or a second grouping including, agency, positioning and resilience, in a further process of reduction. However, I have decided to keep these separate to show the strands of my thinking, before weaving these together in my discussion later. Obviously the meta-themes themselves are metaphors; the drawings were done as if they are coherent, the participants talked as if they were positioning themselves and so on. It is sometimes difficult in writing to clearly demarcate between what people literally do (or say they do or did) and writing that people act as if they do/did, especially if one eye is always on the word count. The reader is asked to bear this in mind.

4.5.1 Coherence of the biographical drawings

In Appendix 6 all the biographical drawings are reproduced. The first theme is suggested by the hermeneutic structural analysis of the drawings (Rittelmeyer and Parmentier, 2006), which enabled me to judge the structure of the drawings as coherent, that is, whether the parts 'hang together' in a meaningful whole. The dominant impression of the biographical drawings was that they all showed (me as researcher) more rather than less coherence and structure. Many used a linear structure or 'life-line' linking events or locations, which are often indicated by symbols, or the events were arranged in an obvious sequence (e.g. Matilda and Lennox). In the subsequent 'telling' of the narrative drawings in the interview, all the participants were able to explain the drawings, using narrative and in some cases poetic metaphor (e.g. Luis). The drawings and the narrative accounts go together. The drawings all show the ability to narrate a life story using images and symbols, which they could subsequently explain, thus showing the ability to narrate and construct a biographical account. The participants drew the pictures and created their narrative accounts as if these were both synonymous and coherent and each talked about her life as if this was, at that moment, coherent too.

Some, such as Per, drew parallel lifelines showing different pathways or fields and Nicola showed two pathways, one, she explained, following her father who separated from her mother but she maintained a parallel 'life path' with him. Per, Luis and Celina used poetic images or symbols in their drawings, which give a rich sense of depth and significance to their drawings. Luis actually described the process of the drawing, as follows:

I thought about how to start the picture by portraying my origins. So I chose, as it were, the visual metaphor of water as the source of life- I read this idea in an English text once. Then I showed fire, as it were, as the archetypal germinal element, if you see what I mean. From there flows the stream of life with one or two ups and downs, as one sees here (indicating a section of the drawing). As yet no concrete events are shown. I wanted to take into account that the sun shone metaphorically on this phase of his life and to show that it was a happy time. Here I drew a tree to indicate that the next phase of my life had shadows.

There are also rocks, in front of which are flowers – as a symbol of maturing. The image represents puberty.

This extract shows a deliberate use of symbols to narrate and construct a biographical account. The content of the drawings is not of concern here, but simply the fact that they are coherent or ‘hang together’ and are meaningful for the participants. I asked Eva after we had talked about her drawing in some detail, if she felt that it was coherent, if it ‘hung together’ (zusammen hängen)? Her answer was interesting. She said.

Hanging together?- ah, that’s a difficult question. Well I had the feeling that my life up to now has been split into two parts: first there’s childhood- I actually only have beautiful memories about that- of course there were stupid moments but the beautiful ones outweighed them! And then this time at school (indicating part of the drawing) earlier was so confusing that one now- in the upper school I have begun slowly somehow to make more of an effort now and again, because I wasn’t always- I can say now, such a dedicated pupil regarding learning, you know. And that now through this training, through this direct route to a goal, I have somehow found my balance.

In answering my question she appears to discover a maturational aspect of her life that split it into a happy childhood and a less happy adolescence, with a resolution in the present. Interestingly, the happy childhood does not distinguish between school life and her life outside of school. It is treated as a unity, whereas the second half is solely school-focused. It is important to recall that the original task referred to life not school. As she explains, towards the end of the second half was also a time when she gradually changed her attitude to school. Right at the end, she set herself the clear goal of getting her Abitur to enable her to start a training course in physiotherapy. Her explanation seems somewhat detached, as if she was telling me about someone close to her, but not her. The phrase, “I can say now...” suggests that she has settled on a biographical account and can now point out her new position, as if in quite a detached way. Eva’s biographical drawing and her biographical construction are both presented as if they were coherent to her.

I suggest that all the drawings in their various ways show that the participants were able to construct and represent the course of their lives as if it were a journey through time linking various life situations and practices. The drawings have a first-person perspective. They show a personal composition of how they relate to the world, using graphic elements (such as lines and symbols). These subjective configurations, which are by no means only cognitive, suggest something like continuity in the structure of personal relevance (as experienced at that moment in time and in that position).

The themes that were illustrated seem both personal (e.g. death of a relative, separation of parents, change of school, moving house, unique events etc.) but also typical to the lifecourse (e.g. transition from kindergarten to primary school, events in the curriculum). In particular, there was an understandable dominance of educational events, family and relatively common activities in this social group, such as playing an instrument, sailing, looking after an animal. It is important to emphasize that the drawings are also highly selective; they leave much out.

There appears to have been an implicit understanding that the drawings should be simple and illustrative, though nothing was said. The fact of paper and coloured pencils

being on offer rather than other media probably activated memories of drawing in the younger classes at the school.

4.5.2 Ability to position themselves

Biesta et al (2011) suggest that our awareness of our positions over time and across different social practices, how they stay the same and how they change, can give us a sense of continuity of self and identity. This seems to be the case with the participants in this study. Each case analysis suggested a series of metaphorical themes that could be grouped under the heading 'awareness of positioning'. Examples include Luis who appeared to show a particular skill at positioning and could give a detailed account of his own positions and those of others. Nicola was able to explain the change in the stance of her step-father towards Waldorf education and her own position in relation to this, showing some degree of subjectivity.

In the task of positioning the things that were most important to them using a graphic and the subsequent explanations, most of the participants could identify changes in these positions and could talk about the relative significance of people, things and activities.

Maybritt was typical of several participants who explained that certain activities, in her case playing the violin, had been deliberately given less significance and time because of the exams. When asked if the present positioning of important things would have looked differently a year ago, Lara was able to give a detailed answer relating to various activities, people and relationships. She also made the point that she had placed a post-it with her boyfriend almost covering the word 'I' as an indication of his importance in her life, then after a moment's reflection she moved 'him' somewhat further away, in order to ensure that she was still visible. This seems to show that positioning can be dynamic as persons take stock and reflect about where they or others stand, or where they want them to stand, which I think can be interpreted as a kind of subjectivity.

In the narratives relating to the drawings, we can see examples of positioning too. Celina appeared to have clearly worked out her position within a flexible family situation in which she alternated between living with her mother and father. She pointedly mentioned both parents several times as being the most important people in her life. My background knowledge (as teacher to her and her sister over a number of years) suggests that this was a very 'tidied-up' version of her family history. She and her sister, who is dark skinned, obviously have different fathers and this is not mentioned in her account. She talks about living with her mother and her current female partner and compares this to living in a shared living community, like students. I interpret her confident account in the drawing and the interview as a robust biographical construction of how she wants her life to be seen, and perhaps how she actually lives it.

4.5.3 Putting yourself in another's position (empathy)

One of the common themes running through all the cases is empathy, in the sense used by Stein (1989). My pre-understanding suggested that empathy is when one is able to recognize and even identify with another person's position, without losing one's own position and is thus a form of self-knowing. Empathy is the ability metaphorically 'to put

oneself in another person's shoes', or to see things from another person's perspective, in other words, to acknowledge another person's position.

Many of the examples that I have used to construct themes and which I have labeled empathy as shorthand, actually refer to participant's talking as if they are conscious of other people's positions. This awareness appeared to extend to the immediate family but also beyond, such as Per's concern for less privileged children he encountered in his social practical, or Matilda's concern for the boy in the wheelchair in her guest family in Australia. This social concern was typical of almost all the participants. There is of course a difference between experiencing empathy and actually acting out of an awareness of the other person's position, as in the example just mentioned, or Per and Adele who both voluntarily joined the circus project (for young people in care), both for personal and for altruistic reasons. Maybritt became very aware of the situation of elderly people suffering dementia and this was one of the reasons she gave for hoping to have a family, to understand and support people in this condition. Even Lara's wish to do missionary work, she says, is at least partly motivated by empathic reasons.

4.5.4 Narrative learning, narrative quality and efficacy

Narrative learning (Goodson, 2006) involves a complex relationship between storying, life and the self. In telling stories about their lives, people learn about their own becoming. Goodson et al (Goodson et al., 2010), drawing on work on meaning-making through narrative (Bruner, 1990, Polkinghorne, 1996, Polkinghorne, 1988), have developed a framework for analyzing narrative to show how it supports learning as becoming. They distinguish between narrative quality and narrative efficacy. Among the narrative qualities are evidence of emplotment, which Polkinghorne (1988) describes as the ability to weave together complex events to make a single story. Thus "plot configures the events into a whole" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p.143) and thus the recalled events are transformed into meaningful happenings that contribute to the whole theme. Biesta et al (2011, p. 51) describe narrative learning as telling a story about the self with a plot in which events, episodes and relationships are chosen and organized into a coherent whole with a particular direction or purpose. All of the drawings appear to do this graphically by having a life-line or parallel life-ways, a road or stream flowing across the page linking the events, or through indicative arrows indicating links and consequences. In narrating the drawings many of the participants explained the structure by noting that each event illustrated was significant and linked to those before and after. Though the drawing are usually quite simple, the choice of episodes (and we may assume what is left out) appears to be significant to the narrator, as the explanations in the interviews show.

Narrative efficacy has to do with the learning potential in the act of narrating life-course stories and the ability to act upon that learning (Goodson et al, 2010). Narrative learning occurs in the act of narrating and in the ongoing construction of a life story so that narrating becomes a tool for reflection and integrating different forms of learning (2010). Narrative learning is "a way to understand learning that instead of dealing with the acquisition of externally prescribed content (such as a defined curriculum) explores the learning which is involved in the construction and ongoing maintenance of stories about one's life" (Goodson, et al, 2010, p. 132.) They note that as with all other kinds of learning, people are differently resourced and located in regard to narrative learning. Furthermore, as Lave and Wenger (1991) note, social situations and relationships are

not simply the background or context for the learning but are integral to it. Biesta et al (2011, p. 22) take up this point, explaining that the social relationships influence the learning and are part of the learning process. During many of the interviews I experienced an intensity of shared experience that felt rich in significance that the transcripts alone do not reveal. It felt that learning seemed to be happening for both interviewer and participant.

Biesta et al (2011) see narrative learning as one of the prime means of learning in the lifecourse and thus a key aspect of learning as becoming. Most of the participants gave fairly full accounts of the biographical drawing. I have chosen three examples of these narratives to illustrate learning as becoming a subject.

The whole opening passage of Celina's interview seems to me to be a good example of narrative efficacy, narrative learning and of learning as becoming a person. She responded to my opening request to tell me what she experienced whilst drawing her biographical picture:

Well yes, I chose a river as the main motif because life always flows on just like a river. That is why the river stands in the middle. Along the riversides I have drawn my life almost a bit chronologically. This starts below right: there my parents were still together and I lived with them and my sister in a house. Then it [the line] continues on the other side because my parents had separated by then and my father lives on the other side, and my sister and my mother on that side. I move back and forth between my parents.

Then the river flows on, and comes to the kindergarten- I have nothing further to show there. Then it comes to a horse because I have had lot to do with horses- my mother is a riding teacher and this has accompanied me throughout my whole life.

Then comes the school. First I was inducted into school. Then there is a short path and I can be seen standing with my Abitur certificate in my hand.

Above the river some of my classmates are shown, but also friends who continuously change. Over time one has lots of different friends in the class including boys because one could have good friendships with boys in my class. These are shown in the drawing by two girls and one boy. There below are two girls because usually one's best friend long term is a girl who accompanies one but these also change over time. Then there are two figures together with a heart. That is me and my boyfriend, who has accompanied me for a long time. This represents a new stage that comes with a certain age – partying and dancing- which definitely belongs to the picture!

Then the river brings us to a car, a VW bus and a map of France because I and my bus have travelled widely in France and it was a beautiful time. This belongs to my life path because it was a very important experience. The bus is important too because I practically live in it now and I often sleep in it. This also belongs to my life path because it means for freedom for me. I can go where I want and sleep where I want. That definitely belongs. Then (in the picture) above I have shown a bit of nature, a tree, a cloud because firstly when I'm with the horses, nature is always present and secondly when I drive around with my bus, then I often sleep in nature. It simply belongs to this way of life that one can live like this and enjoy it. I also like to be alone, since it is also important to be able to have one's peace. That also works best with the horses because one can simply relax. I think that's all to start with.

Her drawing was done with deliberation, step by step, with short pauses for making decisions about what to show. The narrative is told in a matter of fact way, explained clearly and brought to a conclusion. It gives the impression of being factual and plausible. The act of drawing seemed to 'draw' this coherence of verbal presentation out of her tacit, embodied understandings and make it explicit. The drawing appears to give a coherent form to her experience and the narrative makes this a social act in which she shares with me her position and perspective on it. It is as if there is a central plot to her story and the core of this plot is her, her identity, the person she wants to be and to be seen as being.

I encountered this element to some degree in all the drawings and their narratives. The longer one 'lives with' the drawings, the more they seem to generate a mental picture of the person's biographical construction. In the case of Celina, the biographical 'tapestry' appears to be woven tightly, as it were, and is carefully illustrated. In some cases a modest amount of background knowledge helps, but generally the drawing and the narrative are sufficient.

What was typical of all the participants was the way they responded to the (fairly unusual and unexpected) task of the drawing their lives and the seriousness with which they then spoke about it. There were often long pauses as they looked at the drawings, as if discovering new experiences. Celina, like most participants, was very grateful after the interview, as she put it, for the opportunity to give words to all these experiences. I think this is a very clear example of narrative efficacy and learning as becoming.

The interesting thing about narrating one's experiences is that it is self-motivating. People construct their stories because they are motivated to do so. In their study with adults Goodson et al (2010) discovered that when many people narrated their life-stories, they did not refer much to an externally mandated curriculum but rather the narratives "grew from internally generated narrative activity" (2010, p. 132), from interior conversations in which they worked out their positions on the things that were important to them. Of course there is a danger that what starts out as a something from within that is personally significant becomes "colonised by educational, economic and social systems". Here the question of structure and agency becomes important. The agency involved in narrating one's life course is always framed within boundaries, opportunities, circumstances, dispositions and expectations. The more learning can become reflexive of those boundaries, the more freedom there is for ecological agency. I feel that Celina appears to show and express a high degree of freedom within her life and her biography and anyone with any insight into her background would have to say this is a remarkable achievement.

I have already suggested that the narrative drawings were in themselves non-verbal narrations. Eisner (Eisner, 2008, Eisner, 2002) argues that art is a mode of knowing. Following Weber (Weber, 2008), it 'encourages' the expression of embodied knowledge in the artist and the beholder (i.e. here the researcher) that can be articulated and made conscious in talk and analysis. Thus narrative meanings are co-constructed by the participants together with the researcher, who through empathic understanding and prompting questions encourages narration. This occurs in most of the interviews. Some of the other participants give detailed accounts of their biographies by narrating their drawings. Adele, for example, explained that while drawing a stage with a large and small figure, she had the following experiences in mind:

(pointing to the image) This shows the first important events that I had or that still shape me today. And that was when I lived alone with my mother in [name of the city] and that we didn't have much money... and that has shaped how I am today, that I am still very careful with money and that she was studying to be an opera singer and because I was behind the stage a lot when she was singing, that has strongly shaped my career wishes even today.

From the subsequent narration of the life-course it became apparent that Adele must have been under the age of five at the time. This suggests that this account is not simply a memory but is the outcome of repeated narrative constructions probably involving others and that this process has been and is a significant part of her actions and agency. Another example shows the careful economy with which a life can be told:

Ah yes, it [the lifeline] runs from right to left. That [pointing to a sun symbol] means I was born in summer and that's my family and my dog. That's my school induction and there my grandfather died and my dog too. Here the path divides because my parents separated and this (a second lifeline) runs here alongside because my father nevertheless remained in my life. And then here I have drawn a flower because from here it was always a good time for me and everything was in order. Then the ways parted again because my sister left home. Then, here, I walked the St James Way. That was very important for my personal development. Then, here, I have drawn tears because the Abi-year was very emotional. And at the end there is a question mark because I don't yet know, how the way goes on. (Nicola)

One can imagine that walking the St James Way in Northern Spain at the age of 18 was not only important for her biography but also for her ability to represent her life as a pathway. The selection of events and people in her life is very specific, when one considers how much must have been left out. Each event shown must have considerable meaning, though she hardly alludes to it. The first significant event she actually designates as being important is walking the St James Way. Later in the interview she tells me how she wanted to do this in class 8 (aged 14) but was not allowed to by her parents. In class 12 and 18 years of age, they couldn't forbid her (this is her explanation) and she goes with a friend, who is barely mentioned (and only when I asked). This event was like a symbolic coming of age for her, showing her agency and autonomy (both of which she emphasized). It takes a central place in her drawing, her story and there is a sense that there was a life before that and there was her life after that. It was a turning point in her life. Perhaps we can see this as an event with the quality of an interruption that prompts subjectivity.

Another example, from Per, shows how the drawing is not only explained but also commented on and interpreted, in this case with a degree of self-conscious irony. I have chosen a short extract from the longer passage at the beginning of the interview. This musician has just added the saxophone to his range of instruments:

Then I've, er...sort of split it (the lifeline) a bit, because the social contacts increase, also outside of school- that (indicating part of the drawing) is supposed to show that. Then I went travelling with Circus X (name withheld), which looking back – I was sixteen at the time – was one of the most important stations...simply because that was... simply once more a totally different kind of life and so, that I didn't know before- and also many, very many new contacts,

including, yeah – a girlfriend and so on (ironic shrug and smile)... Then music continues to be very important. Then I went again a second time- and that had yet more new contacts as a consequence. Now comes a third time here in the near future- I should add that to the drawing, next month- yeah, those were the most important stations (grins)...(Per).

Perhaps the aspect of this story (the whole story, not just this extract) that seems most interesting took me some time to identify and involved listening to the whole interview several times as well reading the transcript. It is the underlying theme or plot at the heart of the interview. There is a certain way in which he seems to circle around the central character, himself. He tells his story, with irony, diffidence and seriousness and he draws my attention subtly to aspects of himself. I have no idea if this was conscious or not. When I saw him recently, a year after the interview (he was playing his clarinet for the circus group at a summer festival at a local farm), the first thought that came to me was that he was still circling around that identity. This thought was related to the way he was playing the music, carefully matching and also driving the rhythm of the jugglers and acrobats, serving them, helping them, guiding them. Yet also at the same time he was detached, watching the scene and the circle of the audience. It seemed that the tune was being improvised in a responsive and agentic way; he was following events closely yet also leading them as musician and he was watching the whole process.

The significance of this personal observation is twofold. Firstly, in relation to Per the impression is that the core identity at the centre of the plot of his story, the 'hero' of his story, does not yet know who he is, or is ambivalent about who he wants to be, yet is comfortable in this role, allowing it time to unfold. Perhaps we can see this in itself as an indication of subjectivity. The second point from a research point of view, is that the careful, tentative, systematic, step for step, empathic yet grounded approach to understanding what a person is telling you can be supplemented by insight or intuition that has incubated over a long time (Claxton, 2000). Both of these approaches seem necessary in interpreting this kind of data.

Later in the interview Per speaks with considerable insight and empathy about the work of the circus, which is a youth care organization funded by the social services for young people who are school-refusers, who self-harm, who have eating disorders or behavioural difficulties leading to school exclusion and so on. Each year young volunteers from my school community join the circus for the tour (they attend at weekends to train). Per has supported this activity with considerable engagement. I asked him what was important for him about the circus. He describes what is different and important about the circus and does so by weaving this into what in effect is an engaging story with narrative efficacy:

I don't know, it's difficult to describe, but the circus is somehow different, above all the community is different to what one knows in school... it's much more open, much more honest in terms of feelings...er.. at any rate that first time was simply different...and then that feeling for four long weeks, in the school holidays even, to be on the road, simply sleeping in a circus wagon, every three days putting up the big tent and taking it down again- also hard work physically. Then travelling long distances and every day four or five hours making music, that's the other thing. Then all the different people you get to know, who are just as creative as I am- but in different ways. No one has excessive interest in computer games or such stuff- that's where I got to know -my first girlfriend- that's naturally always

very important (ironic smile)-that is to say my ex-girlfriend- I don't know ...the fascination of the circus (laughs).

What is interesting is the way he compares the community at school, the class community that the other participants so frequently refer to, with the circus community that is, he feels, more open and honest. My point is not whether that is true or not but that these are qualities that he values in a community. The therapeutic community in the circus school is based on total mutual trust. In circus life trust is a primary physical condition and the community uses this fact as a basis for the relationships they build with each other, which are based on self-knowledge and the self-esteem gained through their acrobatic achievements. This appeals to Per just as much as the freedom (and hard work) of life on the road and the encounters with people. It is an interesting mixture of romance and dream, falling in love and hard work based on rigorous discipline. It is part aspiration and part lived experience. It is authentic and it is biographical and illustrates how people author their lives reflexively, which I also think can be seen as a way of becoming a subject.

The participants are capable narrators and have a fine sense for narrative qualities and the use of symbols. These pupils, like those in other Waldorf schools, are used to recalling their experiences in the previous lesson in practically every lesson in structured and systematic ways throughout their whole school time because it is part of the regular structure of the lessons (Rawson and Richter, 2000). Furthermore, this is frequently done in the form of verbal narrative. This may lead to learning dispositions towards narrating experience as part of a process of making meaning. At any rate Waldorf pupils are used to co-constructing knowledge and embodying this through repetition and application in ways that dispose them to learning that can be described with the metaphor learning as becoming- learning that changes you.

I suggest that these skills were enhanced through the emphasis these aspects receive in a Waldorf school, though of course, there are many scholars who see narrative as the default mode of human thinking and communication (Bruner, 1990, Engel, 1994, Polkinghorne, 1988). The question, however, is not whether narrative is a basic human skill but the extent to which narrative is available as a means of articulating complexity. Certainly, having assimilated a whole body of knowledge mediated through storying and a rich and varied range of tales and legends in which life is portrayed as a quest for meaning that is essentially about becoming a person as subject, these young people will have been well-resourced.

The Waldorf curriculum has at its core a rich vein of stories, fables, legends, myths, historical narratives and biographies from a wide range of cultures (Alwyn and Rawson, 2000, Rose 2007). These are told almost every day in the main lesson (the first two hours of each day) throughout the class-teacher period (class 1 to 8). In the upper school studies of literature include class main lesson blocks on themes such as 'from myth to literature', 'modern heroes', 'tragedy and comedy' and 'biography'. The sequence of narratives used, emphasizes the emergence of the individual biography from collective social processes and emphasizes life as a quest for meaning, coherence and belonging. The notion that the 'hero/heroine' can be fundamentally changed by what he or she meets in the world and that events can call a person to take up her responsibilities and own what they have done, is very familiar to them.

Such long-term regular cultivation of narrative as a means of organizing and communicating past experience may dispose children and young people to narrativizing and to constructing coherent accounts of their lives. In most of the classes in a Waldorf school the students don't have textbooks, they make their own accounts of their learning. They produce many useful things in crafts and gardening. This strengthens their sense of ownership of what they produce. Some of the participants still had accounts of their farming practical from five years ago. I suggest have been many opportunities for pupils to learn dispositions to learning. Such dispositions may serve them well, when it comes to constructing biographical narratives.

4.5.5 Biographical awareness

This meta-theme of biographical awareness indicates what seems like a general awareness that events can have a significance for that person's life, what Alheit (1995) calls biographicity. This awareness can relate to the whole biographical construct, such as when Matilda says; "so those are the stages/steps that were important in my life and through which I am now actually the person I am." Later she talks about the importance of having a horse to look after that was her responsibility and evaluates its significance for her now. She summed up this account saying, "that was really important for my life and I need the horse and yes I am still very happy with the situation". I suggest that this reflexivity is an aspect of subjectivity.

Biographical awareness can also be an awareness of the value of specific events that may interrupt the existing patterns of life. Such events can be changes of home. Per comments on the effects of several moves of house. Matilda talks about her time in England in a private school and her stay in Australia, both of which made a deep impact on her. Lennox spent a year in the US, which he says changed him fully. He also had a strong sense of the importance of the present moment in his life. Whilst explaining the card he placed near the word 'Ich' (I or me), on which was written 'selbst erfahren' (experiencing myself), he said, "what is also particularly important for me now – which is why I put it in inverted commas, is 'self-experience', finding myself". When talking about the class play, which he described as having been very important for him biographically, he added that this was not necessarily positive but was unwilling to say why. Throughout the interview with Lennox, there was a brooding, evasive quality, though he was very willing to do the interview. It felt like he was biographically overwhelmed, that he was struggling to fit the experiences into a clear or clarifying narrative because of all the paradoxes. He kept saying things were biographically important but could not talk about them. I think this is an example of a situation that can be described as biographical awareness that is too intense.

A number of participants referred to their parents separating (e.g. Lennox, Per, Nicola, Luis, Bennett and Celina). They all treat this as significant but manageable and most mentioned the continuation of the relationship with both parents. It is significant that they want this to be how it is and thus it becomes part of the construction. All mentioned the move from kindergarten to school and the 'Einschulung', the celebrations of the first day at school. As already mentioned, for Nicola walking the St James Way was very significant. As we have seen Per refers to the circus as very important but he also says that his social practical in a refuge for children was an important but totally depressing experience for him. Adele also talked about the biographical importance of the circus for her but also for others. Almost all drew attention to the significance of the class play as a

turning point biographically for individuals and for the class community. Celina shows clear awareness of the biographical stages in her life and knows what belongs to her life path. Referring to driving round France in her VW bus, she says, “ I think that belongs to my life path because it was a very important experience...that is simply freedom for me. I can go where I want to and I can sleep where I want- that definitely belongs to my life path.”

Biographical awareness is also a way of describing the ability that a person has in any given situation to recognize the sources of factors that influence or affect us, whether intrinsic or extrinsic and to be able to respond in ways that enable him or her to feel at least partially in control, usually retrospectively, within the life course. Lennox showed this ability quite clearly. He was able to explain the effects of his year in America, indeed this was a key element in building his identity. Nicola was aware that she was going against her parents’ wishes in going on the Jacob’s Way. Tim was aware of his social isolation, his gender identity doubts, his crises and suicide attempts and finally his coming out as a homosexual with a remarkable clarity and biographical awareness. One could add further examples from all the participants that show some degree of biographical awareness.

As Biesta et al (2011) note, the relations between dispositions, positions, identity and learning are complex. What and how people learn, they suggest, is enabled and constrained by who they think they are and what they think they might become. Biographical awareness is not only an awareness of opportunity for becoming a person but may also an indication of the subject’s agency.

4.5.6 Resilience and subjectification events

“Resilience is a dynamic capability, which can allow people to thrive on challenges given appropriate social and personal contexts” (Howe et al., 2012). These authors summarize a wide range of literature based on empirical studies across the domains of education, ethics, psychology and sociology and conclude that resilience is an interesting and useful construct in their field of medical education. Antonovsky (Antonovsky, 1987), a medical sociologist, views people who are resilient as being capable of learning from and finding meaning in experiences of adversity. He theorized that people who are resilient have a strong sense of coherence, meaning that they experience the challenges they face as comprehensible, manageable and they feel that it is meaningful for them to engage with them. It this aspect that led the sociologists Hurrelmann and Quenzel (Hurrelmann and Quenzel, 2012) to use Antonovsky’s model of sense of coherence to analyze successful coping strategies among youth (notably in the Shell Study (Albert et al., 2015), a large scale empirical study carried out very four years).

Nieke (Nieke, 2016) argues, from a phenomenological and Bildung perspective that sense of coherence, as theorized by Antonovsky, is both a precondition and an outcome of learning (as I discussed in section 2.8). As Nieke (2016) puts it, learning occurs when the learner feels the experience is relevant for her and may lead to further opportunities for expansive learning. Meaning is constructed when the learner experiences an alignment between her interests, the new experience and having the resources to engage with them. Meaningful learning enables the person to cope with life more effectively and this kind of learning constitutes identity.

Rutter (Rutter, 2006) points out that there is evidence that people who cope well with challenging experiences develop resilience. In other words, resilient people reinforce their resilience. Carr and Claxton (Carr and Claxton, 2002) have theorized resilience as a learning disposition that enables children to tend to stick to a task despite setbacks and frustrations. Fenton-O'Creevy et al (Fenton-O'Creevy et al., 2015) point out that behaviour described as resilient is frequently linked with the ability to maintain continuity of self through changes in identity across times and places. In their study of student nurses whose training involves periods in the university alongside their training in the workplace, these authors argue that reflection using journals and dialogue with peers (both features of the practices in my school) supported resilience but what counted most was the confidence they got by being allowed to participate in real practice, "when they were fully engaged both emotionally and cognitively in making sense, with others, of different forms of knowledge practice ...they were exposed to in their complex landscape of practice"(Fenton-O'Creevy, et al.,2015, pp.58-9). Most of the participants in the present study referred to this aspect in relation to one or other of the work experience placements and it is a common experience in the reports we read and hear at school, as my colleague, Gundula, describes in her interview (see Appendix 5).

Much recent empirical work on resilience views it not as an individual trait but as a "relative, multidimensional and developmental construct...influenced by individual circumstances, situation and environment"(Gu and Day, 2011). Jordan's (Jordan, 2013) theory of relational resilience identifies mutual support in empathic and reciprocal relationships, empowerment and the development of courage as factors that support the growth of resilience. Le Cornu (Le Cornu, 2009), who applies Jordan's approach to the question of resilience in an empirical study with pre-school teachers, claims that belonging to learning communities can enhance this process.

My concern here is not how dispositions and behaviour that can be described as resilient come about, but rather to link evidence of the participants being resilient to what Biesta (2013) calls moments of interruption as learning experiences related to becoming a subject. I also think that the participants identify not only episodes but also some long-term situations that may enhance resilience. The notion of resilience is essentially inferential and relative, since identifying if a person is resilient depends on making two judgements; what positive adaptation is expected and whether there has been a significant threat(Masten and Obradovic, 2006). Applied to the data, I draw on the participants' own accounts as to what they consider to have been a positive adaptation and what they experienced as a significant risk.

Bennett shows himself being resilience in his account of all the things that went wrong in building his electric guitar and how he says he learned through the experience. His account of his participation in the class play also shows him being resilient in that he chose to do something he knew he was not good at, dancing in public. Another example of a participant being resilient is Matilda's account of being bullied during her time in England. She recalls her experience of being bullied by fellow students in an English school she attended for half a year, where she was exposed to racial abuse as a German. Her own interpretation of her narrative of this event was that it showed what a strong learning experience this had been for her. She summarized the significance this had for her in terms of her biography; "looking back I found that really good...but that's how you get to be much more self-reliant, and one has to organize much more yourself...you have to be really structured in order to get everything done and to do everything right, get

good grades and get accepted by the English". I asked her how she actually responded to the situation. She said, at first she suffered but then she concluded that, "if you assert yourself and show them - I am here, I am a person and I can speak and communicate and I am also clever". When I asked her how she coped, her answer was offhand but revealing of a strong sense of self. She says;

I'm always so smart and can talk them out of it and I tell them who I actually am and so I approached them openly and I told them plainly "hey, listen, that's not how it was at all [she says that the English girls thought that all Germans are still Nazis and that Hitler is still alive]- you should consider what you are saying- that they should have paid more attention in their history lessons and so I explained things to them and then eventually I was actually accepted by them.

In the original German text there is an interesting switching of tenses between present and past. She uses past to describe events, but present to talk about herself and her role (I have kept to these tenses in the translation). This is like 'self-empathy, or experiencing your own reconstructions of your experiences. It suggests what could be described as a certain distance to herself and to the situation in the past.

In her account she used her agency and empathy to win round the girls bullying her and she was supported by her family and school friends back in Germany. I think we can say that her account of her behaviour shows a high degree of resilience and some subjectivity. It is not important if this is a retrospective rationalizing and probably the outcome of a narrative subsequently woven with her friends and family back home of what was undoubtedly a very challenging situation for a fifteen-year-old girl, or whether this is the narrative others gave her. The point is, in the interview she is able to give biographical meaning to this episode in her life and show that she learned to resist and learn from this.

Tim also shows considerable resilience in positioning himself in relation to his homosexuality and episodes of suicidal depression, first through chat rooms on the internet, then through his training in the dance school, then through therapy and then through his own efforts and courage. That he told me about this is also indicative of a degree of resilience. Other examples include Adele's response to feeling excluded in the social group, Lennox's response to the challenges with his class 12 project and the six participants who apparently coped well with separations in the family.

The class community itself was specifically identified by more than half as an important site for personal development and the frequent discussion of the class play highlighted both the community and resilience aspects of this learning episode. Participating in such a class community brings with it all manner of social challenges, indeed that is part of the intention. Tim spoke about this, when I asked him what one learns through the class community. He refers to the mutual support and the holding together of the class. The class play is a major challenge for all involved and expectations are high. Tim says, the play was a "situation in which the whole class really has to work together- as a whole...those were great times." Adele, who had felt that the class community was fragmented beforehand, said that it grew stronger through the class play and that this supported the development of each individual. She spoke of "one having more trust in one's classmates" (using a somewhat distancing third person voice) and thus more trust in oneself and that when all are on the same wavelength, this enables one to contribute more not only to the play but also in lessons.

Nicola stressed the fact that she plucked up courage and took a large role in the class play, even though she is, by her own admission, very shy. I asked her what she learned. She replied that she learned to trust herself, that it is possible to do things even though one has great fear of it and that in the moment of doing it, one can have a really good experience. She added that through discovering that she doesn't need to hide from challenges for which she has fear, something positive emerges when you actually do it. Any teacher who has accompanied such a drama production knows that the drama is not only on stage.

4.5.7. Ecological agency

Biesta and Tedder's (2007) ecological understanding of agency (ecological agency is my shorthand) helps account for how people respond actively in contexts-for-action, as I discussed in section 1.4. In other words, it has to do with a person's ability to shape her response to the opportunities afforded by the situation to realize her intentions, perhaps even to recognize what her intentions are. Agency is not just about doing things outwardly; it is also about seeing things in a new or different way and making decisions. It can also mean that, "learning how to reframe a particular agentic 'constellation' can be important in shaping our responsiveness and hence in achieving agency" (Biesta and Tedder, 2007, p. 146).

In order that learning to become a subject can occur, the actor needs to act as if she is standing back from her actions and evaluating them rather than merely going with the flow of life, as it were. This is one of the functions of self-narrativizing. Agency in learning as becoming a subject can be said to be the situated ability to give direction to one's life (Biesta et al, 2011, p. 110). This ability is not only determined by outer circumstances but by the abilities and predispositions a person brings with her and her ability to modify these within the given set of circumstances.

As we have seen, Matilda showed agency in dealing with bullying. Eva showed agency in pulling herself together and getting through her exams. Another, very different, example was Lennox talking about his independent project, a study into the "inequalities in the education system", which involved a literature review and interviews with students at other schools. When I asked him why he chose this topic his answer was;

it was important for me because I already knew something beforehand and had some ideas but it was very important and interesting to see- er... how the whole (pause) matter- er- which social context you come from, which background you have when you now access education...how that all influences you....

However, he said he struggled with organizing his time during the project (which in the end was of a very high standard, though he doesn't acknowledge that). But he valued the fact that he had to work it all out himself, "that one has to completely think the thing out yourself- in a way I thought was meaningful". He gave the concrete example of statistics. In his project he had to go through the whole process of not only understanding what the statistics presented but also learn what one can read into statistics. He explains that if he had done this just sitting in a regular class he would not have been that interested. Having had to do this for his project, his learning was significantly deeper. Now if confronted by statistics, he says he would know what to do. Understood in terms of the metaphor of ecological agency, we can recognize the process of working on your own (power of agency) but also using the opportunities to show agentic power in making the

effort to learning something that was necessary to fulfill your own aims. In this sense it is also an example of expansive learning (Grotlüschen, 2004), acting to further one's own learning.

Some students (perhaps more than we realize) seem to need to feel they are learning things of their own volition and not just because some teacher introduces the next topic on the curriculum. Lennox frequently complained that the teaching was too informal in our school (in contrast, as he mentioned in the interview, to his school in America, where it was very formal), yet he himself discovered that motivation belongs closely to self-directed and biographical interest, or expansive learning.

Two of the participants (Matilda and Adele) showed another example that can be described from the perspective of the metaphor ecological agency. Both chose working with young children for their social practical but they learned from the experience, that though they valued the importance of the work, they decided that this was not a profession that they actually wanted to pursue. Matilda wrote in her portfolio reflection:

I learned a lot through this practical. I experienced it as a further good experience in my life. It showed me how important kindergarten is for a child and it helped me learn about how children are. I now know that I don't want to become a kindergarten teacher in future. Although I enjoyed the three weeks and because this was the kindergarten that I myself attended as a child, I felt myself to be very well understood and I understood everything that was going on.

She evidently felt understood and was able to connect with her own childhood but clearly felt the need to do something else. Both young women were able to use the situation to make an agentic decision not to do something.

I think that this ecologically agentic ability to take a first person perspective on one's own standpoint is basic to learning to become a subject. It implies being able to take a second and third person (singular and plural) perspective – you, he, she, it, they-perspectives, in order to see things from other positions. It has to do with empathy but it is more. Putting yourself in another person's position is one thing; acting in consequence of this is another. Perhaps a full capability as a subject also includes being able to move deliberately between standpoints, the ability to take up a new position (in more permanent attitudes) or standpoint (in more temporary positions) when the situation requires it, in order to be able to pursue one's aims. Here I think maturational factors limit a young person's capacity for this kind of active reflexivity. When one is still trying to consolidate a social identity and take an independent stance at all, it is difficult to be altruistic, generous or take the whole situation into account.

Nevertheless, the drawings and the verbal accounts show a kind of reflexivity in two ways. Firstly, the drawing itself is an intentional act of meaning-making and communication. Secondly the narrative accounts provide examples of agency narrated from a first person perspective. As noted above, there are frequent references showing empathy. Examples of moving between positions consciously are rare.

One example of agency over time, that is, the same position taken up under different circumstances separated by a relatively long time, is Nicola, whose aspiration to walk the St. James Way, as we have seen was fulfilled four years later. Another example is Bennett's choice of a challenging role in the play. When talking about his project to make

a film, Per explains how he adapted his approach in spite of considerable disappointment that his plans didn't work out, thus showing flexibility of agency.

Eva was talking about the process of growing up and maturing and how the future increasingly becomes important. She says,

...it becomes ever more important what one is sort of going to do with the future...and that (a figure in her drawing) is supposed to symbolize that when one has a job or starts a training – and so life slowly starts going its own way. That one is still ...that the parents still have to carry you, as it were...I first drew the hands downwards (in the drawing they are up)... and that one gains strength, to go one's own way. And that sometimes there are also stupid times- here with the clouds (in the picture)- or sometimes also good times. And one just finds one's own direction- yes and money gets ever more important. And that here is supposed to represent that one sometime, somehow becomes quite independent.

The story goes on to include finding the right partner and having a family, having one's own house. She concludes, "it's not only about yourself- it's not about one's self- but rather it's about children or even a partner- and that one has, so to say, arrived". Perhaps 'arrived' means to fully adopt adult ways of being and being socially accepted as an adult. This account is interesting in several ways. Firstly, it is interesting that she uses the third person 'one' (in German *man*), a distancing gesture. Secondly, she is describing a process of emancipation from family and the emergence of adult autonomy, even though in reality 'one' is still dependent financially on the parents. She goes on to explain that after leaving school she will start a four-year training as a physiotherapist, which her parents have to fund. Earlier she wanted to do all kinds of other things "that children want to do", such as becoming an actress, working in a hotel, making money doing event management. The decision to study physiotherapy came late, as she puts it, "suddenly like a click and I thought OK, you will do that!" (second person perspective- I am telling you what you have to do).

This is a picture of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2010) involving increasing autonomy, agency, independence but not just for her as an individual- it is a fundamentally social future that she aspires to and wants to make happen. It's a process that involves gaining the strength, the power to do things you want. As Hurrelmann and Quenzel (2013) put it, it is about becoming qualified (in the widest sense), becoming adapted to the situation and adopting adult practices.

Eva's success, she says, was very much a question of her own efforts and determination. She set herself a concrete goal, showed clear aspiration and agency in using her resources and the situation. Her drawing and narrative account also support this interpretation. It suggests that the turning point in her school career was a biographical decision at the time, which she can now locate in a biographical construction.

Lara, who is from a Mormon family and is expected by her family and church community to spend time on missionary work after school, was asked if she was free to choose to do this. I cite her answer:

Definitely yes! There was a point of time in which I considered, OK, is all this really something for me? Naturally, when growing up you take everything as it is, but at some point the time naturally comes, when one thinks, er...first of all, is that actually all true that they tell you? Is that actually good? And do I actually

want that? Er...and that is definitely also my decision. Then I have to get active myself, for example in order to be able to uphold the basic principles. That when I'm out with friends and when I'm away from home and there is alcohol and so on...then I naturally have to decide for myself, that I don't want that. [I ask, "can you do that?"] Yes! [My question, "and do you experience acceptance or recognition of that from your class mates?"] Sometimes yes. Mostly it is just accepted and I'm pretty happy about that...some even find it good...

One can be skeptical about how free her choice really was or one can trust what she says, but there is no doubt that her narrative shows her power of agency and her recognition that the question came at a particular biographical time in her life was connected with maturation. I think that all the participants in this study showed some evidence of behaviour we can describe as ecological agency.

4.5.8 Having aspirations- direction of learning

The question of becoming obviously involves the future and what one aspires to. As Appadurai (Appadurai, 2004) has shown, the capacity to aspire is socially and culturally shaped. Aspirations are limited or enabled by social expectations and how experiences are given social meaning. I suggest that subjectification includes the ability to imagine options beyond the normal social expectations of, for example, parents and family and the education system. It may also include the ability to have realistic aspirations (i.e. those that one has a good chance of realizing under the given circumstances) because this involves the ability to make sound judgements. One way of identifying this in this study, apart from the images of a lifeline in the pictures, is looking at the aspirations that the participants give expression to. This doesn't tell us what they are going to do; it tells whether they currently have a specific direction for their lives, which could be construed as a form of ecological agency and subjectivity.

Examples of aspiration include Adele's intention to become an opera singer, whilst considering how she will manage this when she has a family (bearing in mind that her mother did this as single parent). Another example was Celina's plans for the time after school, which involves travelling with the VW bus she has renovated, a journey which is evidently not only intended to be geographical but biographical (self-orientation). Eva's plan to start training as a physiotherapist also involves the plan to re-design her room at home (perhaps as an indicator of her new status even though she will remain living at home). Maybritt wants to spend a year in England before studying something with languages and sees this as informing her choice of what to study. Luis wants to study music but in order to be accepted at the music academy he has to concentrate more on his instrument, perhaps even learning a further instrument. Thus he has a clear plan and knows what he has to do to fulfill it. Even those who were unsure exactly what they will study or which professional direction to go in, have plans. This is not surprising. Given their background, education and qualifications, they do have options.

In the medium term most expressed the intention to establish their own families as being something very important and worth aiming for. I did not have the impression that this wish is only a form of social reproduction of expectations but that it is for each of them a more or less original idea that they have come to out of insight into the possibilities that families offer, not least because quite a few of them have experienced family as less than wholly successful. Establishing a family is something that these young

people see as a useful thing to do. This is similar to Ziehe's (Ziehe, 2009, Ziehe, 2013) notion of post-de-traditionalization among youth, who aspire to a counter practice in relation to their parents' (and even grandparents') lives. This current generation in Germany according to Ziehe wants security, certainty, stability and see families as a practical way of achieving this. Traditional lifecourses in which job, marriage and nuclear family were default patterns, were replaced by de-traditionalized social patterns in their parents' and grandparents' generation (the 1968 Generation in Germany). The family stories told by these participants are distinctly non-traditional. Now these young people seem to have 're-discovered' the idea of the family, though not necessarily in the traditional form.

4.5.9 Non-formal learning spaces

The participants clearly identified the non-formal learning spaces as more significant sites of personal development than formal learning spaces. The students were pretty unanimous about the significance of these practices. Luis stated this very clearly, but similar things were said by most of the others;

Yes one sees here directly that I have positioned these (indicating the cards with non-formal learning spaces) closest to me. And yes I can simply say that my experience is, that in my opinion, that these (situations) particularly developed me and taught me about all kinds of things in life that in my view are just as important (as formal learning).

Adele summed up the importance of these practices up, saying:

...and yes, I can simply offer the sum of my experience, that these [the non-formal learning spaces] in my opinion allowed me to develop in very special way- it schooled me in all kinds of areas of life, that in my view are also very important.

The class 12 drama project (or class play) is a special case. It ranks high in terms of personal development. I have looked at the drama project in less detail, though the participants highlight it. Lutzker (Lutzker, 2007) has devoted an entire study to the contribution of drama and improvisation to adolescents' learning in an empirical study of students in a Waldorf school in Germany. He showed that the nature and intensity of the experiences, which pupils had in working on a (foreign language) play;

should not be considered as a luxury, but as offering unique possibilities of gathering and freeing the self, lending a sense of meaning and purpose to young people. The effects of such an artistic experience will clearly be less measurable than any type of testable knowledge, yet in touching the entire developing human being will have far more meaningful consequences, shaping the entire emotional, mental and physical being, leaving lasting traces...Dewey argues that the 'wholeness' of artistic activity offers the finest possibilities of becoming fully alive. In the context of adolescence, the possibilities art offers present a unique opportunity of lending a sense of meaning and purpose to young people" (Lutzker, 2007, p. 445).

This description I think can be related in many ways to learning to become a subject as discussed in this thesis. Enacting narrative, playing roles and doing theatre in many forms at all ages expands experience of self, the other and the world, as has been argued articulately in several articles in the *Harvard Educational Review* special edition (2013, 83(1)) on the arts in education (Azalea 2013, Abbs, 2013), framed by Greene's (Greene, 2013) arguments for the arts in education generally. In almost all the interviews, the

class 12 play was clearly mentioned as a significant event for personal development. Sometimes individual aspects were mentioned (taking on a challenging role, playing a different role than the students wanted to play) but often it was the experience of the group or what most referred to as the class community that was seen as significant for personal development. Drama seems ideally suited to personal development, especially when the young people have high levels of responsibility for the project, as they do in my school. There are many factors involved.

Abbs (Abbs, 2013) notes that learning works best when learners take ownership of their activities and that drama taps into the latent human tendency to represent our experiences through re-enactment and play. Rosario (Rosario, 2013) relates how playing a role in a play enabled her to develop empathy because of having to put herself in someone else's shoes and how she had the experience of being intensely committed to something outside of herself. We could say this is a kind of emotional sojourning. Greene (2013) speaks of how art opens new horizons in form and substance for young people. Engaging with art is an emergent process that cannot be predicted, controlled, standardized or measured and therefore occupies a free space in an otherwise controlled educational environment.

My own view is that by virtue of the embodied nature of gesture, movement, speaking on a stage and acting, drama (and particularly the warm-up exercises and improvisation exercise that are preparatory to performance) calls upon the actors to become someone in a very comprehensive way. It means coming into presence as someone. For non-professionals, this process can be transformative, even if the outcome on stage is not artistically great. Lutzker speaks of the process of convincing the audience that one is the role one is playing, known as finding the target. The art is achieved by "focussing on the target which the character actually sees, as opposed to trying to be the character for others" (2007, p. 378).

The students in his study wrote in their reflections and explained in the interviews that this was the decisive discovery for them and this involved a "heightening of the powers of attention and imagination, and learning to be flexible and open enough to respond accordingly" (2007, p. 378). Lutzker concludes that such sensory and sentient experiences in social learning spaces afford personal experience and growth (in a Deweyian sense) that stands in marked contrast to the poverty of the cognitive testing of individual attainments and what gets lost "when vital dimensions of human experience are ignored in education" (2007, p.459).

4.5.10 Scaffolded reflection

When asked, the students mostly agreed that reflection supports their learning, though a number had reservations at the time about journal writing. Several thought retrospectively that this did help. When asked how reflection helps, Lara agreed saying:
...that one internalizes...or perhaps one also gets a new perspective on the things...I do think that if I write my experiences down and then now read through this again, I would be able to put myself in the situation again or could consider: what did I do? or what could one do better?

Several others made similar comments. I think the salient point is that they reflect when asked to or when they are required to do so. At this age and probably, in my experience,

from the age of 17 onwards young people can learn from reflection when they are asked either verbally or when they are asked to write a reflective piece. I take reflection to mean a written construction in narrative form ("I did this and thought that") and that the scaffolding (the task as framed by the teacher) shapes this. It may be that some young people reflect informally, as it were, in the course of their lives, but biographical learning in the sense of taking positions in relation to the world and other people and reflecting on them probably usually only occurs in a scaffolded, structured way. My experience has been that since the students have been asked to reflect in this way since they were fifteen years old, by eighteen they can do this in a relatively mature way.

Tim has made some interesting points in talking about reflection. He felt that having to keep a journal during the work placements was probably a good idea but he did it differently:

I did it differently to what was probably expected. I didn't keep a diary day for day but I wrote down afterwards - out of an overview - I found that pretty good because firstly everything you had done was still fresh in your memory but you also have the connections- what use was what I did?- how did that fit together with the other work activities we did? - what was the basic idea for all that? I think that helps. Because when you write it down, it naturally helps you keep it in your head- it helps if you read it through again sometime- in case you forget it. But I think that it helps again afterwards when you reflect on it, what each experience gave you, what you learned from it- it provides a kind of image (*versinnbildlicht* = make something a meaningful image of something) for certain learning process - that one examines, how things hang together (cohere), because when you have done that once, then I had the feeling, you can begin to do that in other situations. ...in the practical you have the playing together of things- you see where some things come from and then you begin to see connections in everyday life.

I think this account of reflection is a valuable insight and sums up clearly how reflection can help learning and support learning as becoming a person.

Adele mentioned that she still reflects on her experiences from over two years previously and that written reflection helps her sort out her experiences and her thoughts about them. Nicola stated that reflection enhanced her learning and that reflecting on her project helped deepen her empathy for others. Per felt that formal written reflections helped him to highlight what he had experienced and learned and noted that re-reading his reflection from a year ago enabled him to re-interpret his reflections from a new position. Some felt that writing a daily journal was tedious but helped when it came to reflecting on the whole process and was therefore valuable. In my initial analysis of the transcript of Adele, I recoded in my notes:

When she wrote the reflection she had to sit down and think about things. This reflection helped her realize that she didn't want to work with children in educational settings. Yet she also learned that she likes children. She feels thus that reflection does help her move on, move forward, and that it is important to write it down and take time to do so, even though its hard to find the right words.

My colleague Gundula offered the opinion that young people who experience adults practicing reflection and reflecting on their identities, roles, future and so on, are more

likely to adopt this practice. This may be the case with the cohort in this study. Several of the teachers they had, promote reflection as part of the self-assessment of the teaching block. Furthermore, I have anecdotal evidence that this group of teachers themselves use forms of reflective practice since this has been a theme of discussion amongst the group, some of whom have attended professional development courses on this. I also carried out a small-scale project on the use of contemplative practice with the same group of teachers (Rawson, 2012) This suggests that having a supportive social environment sensitizes young people to biographical learning.

English as a foreign language, which half the participants positioned as important for their personal development, uses scaffolded reflection. Since conducting this study, I have regularly used reflection in all my classroom lessons and discussed it with the students. After explicitly talking about personal development, even class 9 students (age 15) are now writing things like, "I thought I learned a lot about myself in writing and performing the scenes in the group work".

The written reflections (entitled personal reflection) are done at the end of three-week English blocks (two hours a day on a particular theme, such as short story-writing, making newspapers, working on a Shakespeare play) are voluntary and barely scaffolded. The students are simply asked to reflect on their learning experiences. Some of the reflections are structured into themes, group work, topic and work, personal reflection. The written reflections spanned several years, going back to class 10, three years previously. Gundula, the colleague I interviewed and I are the only teachers who use written reflections (in English as a foreign language, biology and art history). I quote them here as they were written, i.e. uncorrected in a foreign language. In class 11 (age 17) there is a block on short stories including short story writing. Here are some comments.

In this English block we learned to write short storys. It was a really nice experience and we learned a lot about writing. I thing it helps me for the exams and I am happy for the next block.

To right a own story is a very good way of learning. In the moment I wrote my big story I use to think about my own childhood and the Christmasday with Santa Claus. I hope to make the reader feel remembered too. If I read my own story I have to think about the past...The speaking was a good preparation for the exams.

In my opinion is writing a own story one of the best ways to learn English. For me it wasn't every time quite easy to start or develop a good story. I started writing a story but after 2 pages I have thrown it away because it wasn't good enough. So days and hours later I have developed a totally new story which I called 'No look back'. While I was writing this story I learned a lot of new words. And at the end it was quiet fun to write it. And now I can say, that I'm very proud of my own shortstory. These three weeks were very informative and funny, because of the lot of speaking practice.

While working and writing on my story stories and my texts I realized that writing short stories in English is much more difficult than in German. I know, that I make many faults in writing, with the right time, often I built a sentence wrong and I am sure this sentence is also not really right. But I hope that my writing get better in future. The speaking at the beginning of the lessons

prepared me a bit for the English exams so I think it was good. I liked the block and I think that we all learned something about speaking and writing English and also we learned to analyze a short story.

Most of the written reflections, like these examples, express the students' sense of progress in learning. Many emphasize their satisfaction, even pride at achieving something they generally found difficult, which shows both a disposition to resilience in learning and a degree of self-awareness. Most mentioned that the lessons were also a good preparation for the exams. I stress also because this is not the prime focus of the reflection- the writing of their own short story is usually central. The last quote is interesting because it points out that the writer's prime focus is writing a short story and then realizes that it is harder in the foreign language. It may seem obvious that writing a short story in a foreign language is harder than in the mother tongue, but not to this writer. The 'real' activity is the creative writing; the problem that emerges is the technical aspect of sentence structure and grammar. I will return to this in my discussion of the findings, when I address the issue of the focus of learning.

Some of the reflections are very alert about the actual learning process.

In this block we had the topic 'growing up'. We had a lot of writing tasks and to read texts and to write an analysis about it. Also we work with and on poems and write picture analysis about it. Some topics about childhood was interesting. At the begin of the block it was difficult to write and speak English. After one week I was more and more within the English block and it was easier to work on our tasks. Mr Rawson had told us a lot about childhood or had explain picture and text analysis very good. My language learning process was good during the group work and the presentation. For me it was good to have enough time to practice my presentation.

This account shows considerable reflective and analytical skills and good understanding of the learning process as it relates to her. Interestingly she does not mention the exams and focuses more on the more general aspect of learning.

Following an art history block in class 9 (age 15) one student wrote (I have translated this into English),

One can look at, interpret or identify with pictures in very different ways. For example one person looks at a small flower on a meadow in the background, the other sees a big rabbit next to a man [MR I cannot imagine this is a real picture being described, certainly not one studied in class, which perhaps shows an emerging ability to hypothesize]. Each one thinks something different in relation to the picture. Nevertheless, I think that we, or rather we have learnt to move much more consciously through the world. For example, that the middle point is not always the main figure or that small things are also very important and are part of a greater whole. One can express with pictures infinitely more than can be said with words (*unsagbar viel ausdrücken*- literally- express more than can be said), they tell whole stories in one image and when you look a second time then there is another story that is hidden....

Here we have a rich experience of learning, one that gives a good account of hermeneutic method (which of course the pupil has never heard of) that reveals an aware of positionality and different perspectives.

The 'growing up' block referred to above is done in class 12 (age 18), which looks at childhood and invites reflection on the students' own growing up. The theme is biographical and reflective. This is apparent in the next quote.

I think the topic is very important for your further life and also for your own children and how you bring them up, if you want children. When you are a child, you don't realize all these things like you do now. Maybe you understand sometimes, why your parents forbid you something, but the real importance of upbringing is something that you can't completely understand as a child. So I think it is good for us all to think back to our childhood and work with different themes, which included childhood. (she then reflects on the learning process).

In the reflections on the work experience placements, the students usually describe the situation and focus on one particular aspect. They also write a personal reflection. In Lennox's report from his social practical (class 11, age 17), which is too long to include here (and is in German), analyzes the economic aspects of the community he worked in for three weeks. The organization offers accommodation and work for adults with disabilities, who have not been able to get a place in a sheltered workshop or find employment in the job market. He also wrote a detailed (anonymous) case study of one individual in the community. In particular, he was interested in the fact that people are not paid for their work though they also don't have to pay for their accommodation or food and analyzes the organization's claim that the funding the disabled people are eligible for penalizes them if they are economically productive. He then questions the assumption behind this. We recall that his independent project was on social status and school achievement.

In his personal reflection he writes (I paraphrase) that he wanted to learn how as an outsider one can best engage with people with severe disabilities and he recalls that he did in fact learn much in this respect. He recalls how difficult it was at first to understand and to get into contact with people whose disability made it difficult for them to speak. He had to learn how to understand their intentions communicated only by a few words and small gestures. He gives examples and judges that he became much more sensitive to emotions over the three weeks and that complex experiences can be mediated through minimal means. He notes, though explicitly not as criticism, that it is a shame that the co-workers don't have more time to get to know the people with disabilities better. In this text, Lennox shows both empathy, self-awareness and can position himself.

The challenge of choosing and carrying out an independent project comes to expression in this reflection from the project portfolio written by Lara.

The process of choosing a theme for my project turned out in my case to be more difficult than I expected. At first I had no idea what I should do or that interested me enough to spend half a year working on it. After everyone in my social environment thoroughly got on my nerves talking about possible themes, the interesting idea came to me to learn about sign language and Braille. Later it turned out that one of my class mates had chosen the same idea, but this was not the reason I decided not to pursue this theme. My aunt who teaches deaf and dumb children using sign language opened my eyes, as it were, and made me realize that it is practically impossible to learn sign language in half a year. So I set off searching for another idea that I could get enthusiastic about. I thought

about what I could fit in alongside school and my job and that could offer me some kind of balance. Slowly I realize that this lay in the direction of art and so it was that this happened. The human shape of women had generally interested me for some time and in particular how the female figure is portrayed in art. My older siblings had been on class trips to Carrara [the famous marble quarry near Florence where Michelangelo got his marble] in Italy and had brought back impressive examples, so I got the idea to do this. I decided to sculpt the form of a woman in marble and studied ideas of female beauty in art.

This account shows a degree of perseverance and resilience as well as a kind of positioning and determination not to do what others expect but to come to her own ideas, with strong biographic strands that all point to emergent subjectivity. One of the texts in her theoretical writing on art shows how 'relevant' the topic was for her. In a section of the ideal of female beauty she wrote:

Beautiful, youthful and slim- today everyone wants to look like this. Flawless, brown skin, large radiant eyes and a fit body, these are the ideals of beauty today. We have fallen into becoming victims of beauty-madness, wrestling with our own bodies, reaching our goals or failing and giving up. Very few people accept their natural appearance and body as they are. Generally, ideals of beauty are always shaped and directed by the social environment and this changes from culture to culture...

It is important to stress that this is not a text written in a lesson following a classroom discussion. This has arisen in the course of a project in which the student has sought out her own sources and chosen those that have meaning for her. The conclusion of her text was, "the only thing that is important really is that one doesn't only concentrate on one's outer appearance or that of others, but rather that we should accept ourselves and the other as we are and simply enjoy life". Bauman's (2008) theory that in the absence of traditional models, young people are forced to construct their identities as consumers instrumentalized by advertising and directed by social media, may be justified. However, the reflexive nature of liquid modernity (Bauman, 2007) also means that young people have the possibility of becoming aware of how such processes affect them, which can also be seen as an indication of subjectivity.

Luis, whose project was recording an album of 'covers' (versions of well-known songs), wrote a charming narrative about how this came about, that is both a literary piece and a reflection. He describes (in German, here translated) the artistic process of choosing the right recording. "It is not the case that you play the guitar for five minutes to warm up and then sing it in five minutes and the take is perfect. I have sometimes sung the same song for what feels like up to two hundred times over several hours because there was always something that bothered me and I didn't want to produce a version made up of many cut-and-pasted versions, I wanted to record the whole song in one complete take...it is simply not easy to have the same feeling when you sing something a dozen times without losing the mood and the freshness." He explains in considerable technical detail all the things that have to be balanced and taken into account. The same challenges occurred in choosing and editing the photos for the cover, and his portfolio illustrates some of the humorous outtakes. Such reflective writing enhances awareness of the learning process and reveals his subjectivity.

The students are asked to choose examples of their work for their portfolios and justify their choice. Adele wrote a lengthy text in English, which I have included in the

Appendix 10, which tells us a great deal about subjectification. It is too long to quote here, but contains evidence of empathy, positioning, biographical awareness, which she also showed in her interview a year after she wrote this. This example suggests to me that given the opportunities to reflect, some of these young people can do this in text as well as verbally. It is important that the reflection is voluntary and not assessed. The students are not required to talk about themselves but can do so if they wish to and, presumably if they trust the person reading it.

Another of the participants, Maybritt wrote about why she had chosen the topic of friendship in the 'growing up' block (which I have also copied in Appendix 10), in which she analyzes the role of friendship in childhood, which differs from family relationships and the learning opportunities that friendship brings. This piece shows empathy, positioning and biographic awareness. Another participant, Nicola chose to reflect on the growing up block by writing a short story that I have also included in the Appendix 10. This not only draws on her experiences a year earlier in the social practical but shows empathy and positioning since the story clearly positions her.

The written material of reflections is so extensive that I could have focused on this alone, since it not only reveals much that is related to my theme of subjectification but also sheds much light on teaching and learning, especially English as a foreign language and the written aspect of the independent project.

I know that I cannot do full justice to the theme of reflection in this study, because space does not permit a full discussion, though it is important. One problem is that reflection by school students is poorly described in the literature, most of which relates to adult learning and professional development (McKensie, 2011, Moon, 1999, Moon, 2004, Thompson and Thompson 2008). The literature that does mention reflection as part of the learning process related to school based learning, such as project based-learning (Boud and Feletti, 1997, Larmer and Mergendoller, 2010) and self-regulated learning (Schraw et al., 2006) is only of limited value for understanding the scaffolded reflection I am talking about here because both of these approaches are geared towards learning something specific, such as engineering skills (Barak, 2012). In such forms of learning, project work and the reflection involved serve the aim of learning certain skills or knowledge. This notion of reflective learning is only peripherally relevant, if at all, to learning to become a subject.

The kind of reflection that I am referring to in connection with non-formal learning situations is closer to what is referred to in a general sense as transformational learning (Illeris, 2014)(Illeris 2014) , which Illeris defines as "learning [that] comprises all learning that implies change in the identity of the learner"(2014, p.40). It is also related to the guided learning, that Billet (Billet, 2001b) calls 'mentoring in the work place'. However, this is also too specific. I do not at this stage have a conclusive theoretical account of reflection that applies in the situations described here.

My preliminary and provisional thoughts on the matter suggest that Moon's (2004) discussion of experiential and reflective learning, especially when the experience has been challenging, is a helpful approach. In particular, I believe the process of constructing representations of experiences is important to learning. Non-verbal representations give tacit understandings shape, thus making them visible. Verbalizing such forms or memories, including putting these into narrative, facilitates shared

understanding and learning. These narratives need to be contextualized, communicated, shared and located in social intercourse. This process is effectively what was done in this study. In my view this aspect of reflection needs to be part of a theory of learning that involves embodiment, forgetting and recalling, shared reconstruction, contextualizing and application. Developing such a theory is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In the next section I discuss the implication of my analysis and look at what claims the study can make.

4.6 Discussion of the findings

How does the foregoing analysis of the data answer my research questions? In relation to my first question about how the participants construct accounts of their lived experiences of learning and personal development, the data show that the participants were able to construct biographical accounts of their lives and learning as if these were coherent and meaningful, highlighting the episodes they saw as significant for their personal development. We see this in the themes related to the biographical drawings, biographic awareness, narrative learning and aspirations.

They used personal reflection and narrative learning to learn from their lived experiences, much as the adults in the Learning Lives project (Biesta, et al, 2011) did, as discussed in chapter two. That project looked at people over the course of their working lives. The data show that the young adults in this study, who were at the point of transition shortly before leaving school, given the opportunity to do so, could also learn from their lives. Learning in this sense means coming to a view of themselves as changed, having adjusted their image of themselves in relation to their previous self-image and their perspective on the world and others. Thus learning is a process of constructing new meanings.

Being given the opportunity to reflect biographically seems to be the salient point. Subjectivity-events, as we have seen, cannot generally be planned but the opportunity to weave these into a coherent narrative can help give these meaning. Biesta et al's (2011, p.111) suggest that 'social practice pedagogy' could improve this kind of learning, if it combines 'internal conversations' with the social practice of storytelling, that is, providing social opportunities for people to narrate their life stories. I believe that such conversations can be useful in supporting and prompting biographical reflection, which can be an opportunity for recalling, contextualizing and consolidating experiences of subjectiveness, by offering the opportunity for narrative constructions. The interviews were such opportunities. The conversations held with each student at the end of class 12, in which the class guardian, parents and the student sit together and look back over the 12 years at school is another opportunity.

Biesta et al (2011) suggest coaching for adults in biographical learning. I suggest that is also true of young adults in school, though this probably has to take a different form if it were to be done by teachers. I suspect non-teachers would be better, since students need to trust in the confidentiality of their partner. Such opportunities should not only focus on issues related to school learning, in which the school's values are foregrounded and which may feel to the students like surveillance. In my school tutorial talks are held with students to focus on the pupil's school work. These are helpful in the sense of formative and ipsative assessment but the relationships are obviously asymmetrical.

Biesta *et al*, also point out that in many colleges, students often have little control over their learning cultures in the classroom. This applies equally to the Waldorf upper school classroom. In my view it would be beneficial if Waldorf students had more influence over and could take more responsibility for the learning culture in their school. Therefore, such 'biographical' conversations need to offer students the opportunity to reflect on how they are constructing accounts of their experiences and on the mutually shaping relations between themselves and the school, including the teachers. If teachers were to facilitate such discussions, they would at the very least have to practice the same process themselves and critically reflect on their own biographical learning and relations to their work and the students. It would be better if teachers showed pupils how to structure such conversations and let the students choose who they want to talk to.

The question as to what the data shows us about the process of learning to become a subject has various aspects. I think the evidence outlined in the themes of agency and resilience point to the importance of interruptions, as Biesta (2013) has suggested. Successfully negotiating challenges and constructing and re-constructing coherence can be seen as on-going acts of subject-ness. Matilda's account of how she coped with bullying is an example, particularly her current account (as opposed to the resilience she describes in the original situation). Likewise, Tim's account of how he engaged with his homosexuality, as noted above, shows agency, resilience and active positioning.

I am unaware of any other empirical studies that have taken up Biesta's ideas on subjectivity, so this study can be said to provide some examples of what this aspect of subjectification looks like in practice. The evidence I have discussed above in the theme of empathy can be seen as an aspect of learning to become a subject, particularly in the sense of coming into being through the Other. Positioning is not necessary an act of subjectivity, except, I suggest, where it involves conscious and deliberate choices, which is true of the examples I chose to refer to in the section above.

A further question was what the study tells us about the learning culture of the school. Here the evidence is at best indirect. The interview with the teacher Gundula was intended to give the reader background information (which is otherwise in German in the school's curriculum handbook and to some extent on the school's website). This emphasizes that parents and students are told that the objective of the non-formal learning situations is personal development rather than careers experience. The evidence I have cited in constructing the meta-theme relating to these activities shows that the participants share this view. Otherwise the data reveal little of the school culture and I can only infer certain processes that other research (such as Helsper *et al* 2007 and Idel, 2007, 2013) has suggested is typical of Waldorf schools.

One aspect that is specific to a few teachers in this school is the importance that the participants gave to scaffolded reflection. As I noted at the end of section 4.5.9 the material I collected on written reflections was considerable and deserves a study in its own right. I think the evidence shows clearly that given the opportunity to write a reflection on their processes, the students in this study were capable of doing so and that this activity can be a powerful learning experience, both in terms of learning about learning (English or art history for example) but more particularly in terms of learning as becoming. It also offers important feedback to the teacher. As mentioned above in

terms of opportunities for narrative, the conditions under which this occurs are decisive. Central to this is mutual trust. This cannot be assumed in any teaching situation but has to be carefully nurtured, as indeed all relationships do.

The question as to which learning situations are most associated with personal development is fairly clearly answered in the data that shows that this particular group of students identified the non-formal learning situations as locations of personal development. This poses the question how we can account for this theoretically, which I will address below, by discussing the nature of sojourning and learning as apprenticeship from the perspective of social practice theory to account for this. In doing so, I show how this theoretical approach can be of value in Waldorf education.

There is, however, relatively little evidence in the data to account for the lack of a strong link between formal learning spaces and personal development. As an upper school subject teacher in a Waldorf school I expect that the pupils' experience of my subject should also prompt personal development, which after all is a strong assumption in the Waldorf approach, as pointed out at the beginning of the thesis. I have already explained that I did not want to ask the participants directly which formally taught subjects they associated with personal development because this would be a leading question and I did not want to ask why they thought this was the case because I did not want them to comment on individual teachers. I assumed that the students would link the subject to the teacher and the teaching. I wanted to avoid comments such as, "I think history is important for my personal development but not the way Mrs. So-and-so teaches it". In a small upper school mentioning a subject inevitably identifies specific teachers and my suspicion was that in the context of the study. I had assured the teachers in asking permission to do the study that there would be no criticism of individual teachers. Nevertheless, in retrospect, I could have found a way of getting more direct evidence from the participants and this is undoubtedly a weakness of the study.

Therefore, I am left with the absence of evidence for a positive link between most formally taught subjects and personal development and can only infer that this is evidence of absence, which is not a strong basis for any claim. Therefore, I will only be able to make tentative suggestions for an explanation.

4.6.1 Sojourning.

In seeking to account for the strong link the participants make between the non-formal learning situations and personal development, we first need to ask, what do work experience practicals have to do with the development of the person? It is perhaps easier to see that a drama production or a project with a presentation has a certain biographical value because both are achievements that others can judge, but this is not the case with three weeks working on a farm, or in a care home for the elderly. As already explained, such work placements are explained to parents and pupils in the school as opportunities for personal development, rather than as opportunities for planning a career. This is common practice in Waldorf schools and is supported in the Waldorf curriculum literature (Boettger, 2014, Rawson and Richter, 2000). This does not of course mean that it has that effect.

However, drawing partly from the evidence of the participants (in the interviews and also in the written accounts some brought with them to the interview) but also from my experience, we can reconstruct the effect of a work placement, on a farm for example. Being separated from the familiar routine in school (by nature an institution comprising routines and timetables) in a place of work that has a very different daily structure and energy, can have an interrupting, awakening (even shocking) effect that heightens awareness of one's subjectivity. This experience can be intense but it is short-term. With long-term exposure to certain kinds of routine work the situation soon loses this ability to awaken and the intensity of experience lessens significantly. Indeed, students confronted with boring aspects of work (weeding a field, sorting potatoes, filling packets, cleaning etc.) begin to suffer boredom, start complaining and show frustration.

This in turn can lead to reflection and questions (does someone really have to do this kind of work? how can I make the situation more interesting? how do I deal with my sense of time? isn't there an easier way of doing the job and couldn't the work be organized differently?). By providing students with tasks that ask them to document these thoughts and feelings, they give voice to them. Such questions invite the kind of reflection that can help the young person to engage with their experiences and position themselves or to put themselves in the position of those who regularly do this kind of work. The experience of many students, however, such as those in this study, is that they start to identify with the practices they are embedded in. Going abroad, attending different kinds of schools also offers significant learning opportunities from a biographical perspective. In short, new life situations may prompt biographical awareness and afford subjectification events.

In Lave and Wenger's (1991) original meaning, peripheral participation is about being located in the social world, and "changing locations and perspectives are part of actor's learning trajectories, developing identities and membership" (1991, p. 36). Learning trajectories change because the location, situation and context change over time and place. This may occur both in terms of learning spaces but also through maturational change over time. Thus new places involving different practices to those the learner is familiar with, may afford new learning, new (temporary) identities and awareness of boundaries between the practices (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner, 2014). The students in work experience situations have varying degrees of identification with their workplace practices. My colleague Gundula spoke of this in relation to the farming practical in class 9:

And normally you can see that they've very much identified after three weeks: it's "their" farm! And they talk about "our pigs" and "our cattle" and they get a feeling of belonging to this farm. And a number of pupils go back – go back in the next holidays – to visit their farm again (transcript in Appendix 5).

Gundula offered the view that during the work placements and projects the sustained intensity of engagement is so much greater than lessons in school can attain, involving the person bodily as well as mentally. Spending eight hours at work doing something unfamiliar can be a more intensive form of participation than sitting in a lesson in a group, in which everyone has set roles. They immerse themselves in the new context, an experience that stimulates all the senses (we tend to overlook the fact that places of work, and new places generally, not only look different, they smell, sound and feel, and even the coffee tastes different). They perceive what this does to them far more intensively than they do in everyday familiar situations and it is this embodied

experience that comes more quickly to mind, as it did in the interviews. This immersion may give one a new horizon and different experience of self in the world.

In discussing students engaged in practice-based learning and who straddle the academic-workplace boundaries, Fenton-O'Creevy et al (2015) note that these young people are not following a trajectory from novice to expertise as legitimate peripheral participation leading to full membership in a community of practice, as classically outlined in Lave and Wenger (1991), but rather have visitor status. Their aim is not full-membership but to experience learning new practices. Among the 'visitors', Fenton-O'Creevy et al, distinguish between 'tourists', who have very low levels of participation and 'sojourners' who participate more deeply and begin to assimilate the new experiences.

My experience is that whilst there may be some tourists among our students on work experience, the evidence we have in school is that they become sojourners through high levels of participation (sometimes even beyond what students are probably allowed to do) and identification. Fenton-O'Creevy et al describe the sojourner status as "a profound opportunity for learning" (2015, 45) and also for learning resilience through moving between multiple identities. Sojourning is a transient, temporary form of apprenticeship, as characterized by social practice theory (Lave, 2011 and also Rogoff, 1995). As I have shown above in section 4.5.8, there is evidence in the data that the participants found the work experience situation important for their personal development. Therefore, I think we can use the metaphor of sojourning to describe the experiences of young people in work experience practicals and also in drama productions, orchestra work or projects outside the classroom.

If sojourning in new landscapes of practice offers perspectives on one's own familiar practices, positions and identity, does the fact of it being an authentic or real-life location make a difference?

4.6.2 Real-life situations

The notion of real-life situations is difficult to define because any situation in which people meet, is real, including, of course the classroom. I argue, however, that there is a qualitative difference that operates at two levels. At one level, work experience and drama productions, student exchanges abroad, travelling with the circus, walking the St James Way are all situations that put the student into unfamiliar but real life situations-real in the sense that they exist irrespective of educational intentions. Swimming in the sea or in a lake is different to swimming in a swimming pool, not just because of the quality of the water, because these are natural rather than artificial settings. Even a play performed in school is different to a lesson, because an audience will be present and the processes of rehearsal and performance are part of the reality of theatrical life. Any presentation, even of a short talk to one's own class, has the added exposure of presentation to an audience, which normal classwork does not have.

So-called real life situations also differ from situations in the classroom that have been contrived to facilitate learning, because they are rich in social practices related to the world of work and the necessities, assumptions, ideas and concerns connected to these. Work (including theatre work and probably craft work in school) and all the artefacts and practices connected to it are rich in cultural meanings that are not easily mediated

in the classroom. The difference between formal and non-formal learning spaces in terms of the opportunities for subjectification, may have to do with the level and intensity of identification, as Gundula pointed out. The participant Per formulated the distinction clearly, when he compared the experience of travelling with the circus community to the class community, though most participants also identified the class community as a rich site of biographical learning.

Simply being in a new practice location, however, does not mean students understand what is happening and can identify with it. They may simply feel lost, inhibited or threatened. A degree of courage and resilience is necessary to let go of existing positions and open up to new ones. Perhaps this is a quality of subject-ness. Encouragement is provided by the learning culture when the expectation is articulated that, “it takes some courage, but it’s worth it”. The scaffolding of reflection tasks given to the students also helps them to access how the practice functions socially. In the first week their task is to describe the activities, in the second, to describe the relationships and roles, and in third week, the task is to focus on one process and follow it as far as possible. They record their observations in journals. Once they begin to ‘read’ the social practices and appreciate the human side of the ‘story’, their motivation and identification grow. This, as Luis pointed out, does more to you and therefore teaches you much more about yourself. I have cited evidence in section 4.5.9 for the effects of reflection linked to the non-formal learning spaces.

With regard to the distinction between formal and non-formal learning situations that I have maintained throughout the thesis, in order to distinguish between locations and styles of learning (taught, intentionally learned, not taught but unintentionally ‘caught’), I think it is necessary to drop this binary in order to understand the process of learning. Lave (2011, p.143) refers to the “penchant for treating contexts as forms or containers for knowledge...at one pole were formal educational sites holding/producing in individuals decontextualized, abstract, general knowledge, and at the other pole informal educational sites holding/producing context-bound, particular knowledge that shouldn’t generalize”. She points out that neither ‘situation’ holds up to inquiry. The solution is to see learning (as apprenticeship) as participation in changing practices. The salient word here is ‘changing’ in its multiple meanings. Learning to become a subject is most likely to happen when change in the practice occurs. When that change is abrupt, unexpected, an interruption, a challenge, a problem to be solved, and when the new circumstances, new practices, new knowledge, new people cause us to question and or to adjust our identity, then it may prompt subjectivity and coming into being.

4.6.3 Apprenticeship as participatory learning

What kind of learning is involved in becoming a subject? My short answer is to use the metaphor learning as apprenticeship. Learning as apprenticeship (Lave, 2011) implies a de-centred learning process that has a participatory social ontology. Apprenticeship is sometimes portrayed as the opposite of formal instruction. However, Lave uses the notion of apprenticeship to overcome the binary of formal and informal learning, because apprenticeship is a process of learning through changing practice. It is fundamentally relational. Lave asks us to consider: “suppose it was not just some designated ‘informal’ side of life that was composed of intricately context-embedded and situated activity. Suppose there is nothing else?” (Lave, 2011, p. 145). If all activity is spatially, materially, historically situated and continuously in process, then “subjects,

objects, lives and worlds are made in their relations" (2011, p.152). Learning about the world and our position in it is a process of practicing the craft of inhabiting practices and their conception of the world. Learning to become a subject is, in Lave's phrase (2011, 156), the process of becoming apprentices to our own future practices.

The learner experiences the world both unconsciously through participation because this positions us bodily in the world and consciously, through representation and reflection. Learning comes about through observing and 'pitching in' (Rogoff, 2014), in trajectories of participation in communities of practice or learning, but also through guided participation and appropriation (Rogoff, 1995), which, to recall, means actively reflective participation. Guided participation involves adapting the values of the practice one is participating in and participatory appropriation means that people are changed through their participation. Thus participation is not simply copying social practice but consciously learning through practice. It involves ongoing negotiating of new meaning and thus transforms our identities (Wenger, 1998, p. 226-7).

The implication of the metaphor of learning as participatory appropriation is that this kind of learning involves progressive identification with the processes of the practice and thus we would expect that the learners experience this generally as meaningful for them personally. In short, we would not expect learning as apprenticeship to lead to estranged learning (Lave and Packer, 2008), but rather the opposite. We would expect learning that is accompanied by the experience of belonging and of integration. There is certainly evidence in the data to support this interpretation, as I have shown above. I also suggest that reflection helps participation become participatory appropriation for the duration of the sojourn, to become a kind of reflective apprenticeship.

Sojourning is a form of temporary apprenticeship in different landscapes of practices. Actually a more appropriate term would be journeyman, or in the absence of a female equivalent, journeyperson. Traditionally a journeyman is someone who has completed an apprenticeship and can now work independently, though still learning and modifying her skills. Lave (2011, p. 159, quoting Fortes, 1969) refers to Fortes' use of journeyman as a metaphor for the practice of ethnographers working in the field, who come with skills and theories but allow their experiences within their field practice to modify what they have learned.

The German equivalent to journeyman/person, the *Geselle*, is a status between apprentice and master. The apprentice concludes with a *Gesellenprüfung*, journeyman's exam. The journeyman/person then travels around, working independently and learning from different masters before settling down as a master who is qualified to train new apprentices. Culturally, this notion has its literary correspondence in the notion of the *Wanderjahre* (years of wandering) in *Bildungsromane*, a genre of coming-of-age novels in which the hero travels the world gaining new experiences and maturity (Rittelmeyer, 2012). The metaphor of travelling and having unexpected experiences, corresponds to the notion of coming-into-being through encounters with the Other (referring to persons but also experiences in the unfamiliar world). Thus I think we can modify the metaphor of learning as apprenticeship to the variation, learning as a journeyman/woman who sojourns in different landscapes of practice, which includes reflection as part of participatory appropriation.

4.6.4 Alienation and spaces for the development of the person

If learning as a journeyman/person sojourning in landscapes of unfamiliar practice is a mode of learning, what would prevent this from happening in formal learning situations, which may be familiar but if new experiences are brought through the curriculum, could be sites of participatory appropriation? Lave and McDermott (Lave and McDermott, 2002) introduce the notion estranged or alienated learning, deliberately modifying Marx's notion of estranged labour. In this notion learning under conditions of (neoliberal) capitalist production, the learner produces knowledge as a commodity for the system, not for herself, and in so doing produces herself as a subjected subject. They write, paraphrasing Marx (Marx 1965 (1844)) "the only learner who is productive is the one who produces test scores for the school, or in other words contributes to the self-valorization and redistribution of the educated hierarchy"(2002, p. 44). Thus the learners in school are alienated from the fruits of their own labour/learning. In Holzkamp's (1995) terms their learning will be defensive.

Gereluk's (Gereluk, 1974) notes that the origins of alienation are to be found within the social relations the students are embedded in, rather than within the individuals themselves. He wrote that, "the students (and the problem) are to be understood as an ensemble of relations with a history" (1974, p. 44). The same applies to the school, which is also what it is, because "it is a determinate part of society [and] also a result of its own process of development" (1974, p. 44). Thus understanding students involves understanding the social relations they mediate, the valuation of these relations and the history of the particular social structures the school itself is embedded within. He argued that the students' learning as a source of personal satisfaction "is negated by such relations as give meaning and force to the schedule, curriculum, school quota, finance, examinations, etc...within these relations, the school survives and prospers only insofar as it takes the form of dominant relations in advanced capitalist society - finance, centralization, accountability, etc." (1974, p. 47-8).

Sidorkin (Sidorkin, 2004) too argues that a phenomenology of school learning shows that students actually produce very little that is useful in any economic sense. Even one's final exams are unlikely to generate a "Marxian 'pleasure of knowing my personality to be objective, visible to the senses and hence a power beyond all doubt'" (Sidorkin, 2004, p. 254). In most education systems "students are forced to produce useless objects that cannot enter the world of social relationships" (2004, p. 254). Mann (Mann 2001), who looked at alienation among university students in ways that I think are also relevant to the situation of the participants in this study, describes a situation in which the self is exiled and estranged through the loss of the ownership of the learning process (2001, p.13). Students do not write essays out of need to express their ideas but as "part of a system of exchange", in which output and deadlines are more important than process. She suggests that the emphasis on assessment of outcome and performance, in which the tasks are owned by the teachers and the exam system, may lead "some students to feel alienated from their very selves, struggling to find a voice and a path through which their own learning desire can be expressed and pursued" (2001, p.14).

The notion of alienation is compelling but problematic because it implies a normative, non-alienated state of being human that consists of conscious, free and self-determined activity. If there is no original state from which we can be alienated or indeed rediscover, then the notion of alienation has no point of reference. Perhaps Biesta's (2013) notion of subjectification offers a theoretical solution. Alienation is not distance

from a lost state, a fall from grace, but rather the opportunity to experience otherness and difference. There are few things more normative in education than exams. If qualification becomes a form of socialization and few opportunities are offered in educational spaces for subjectification, then people are denied the opportunity to experience that there are other ways of being than those that the hegemonic system determines for us. Perhaps we can redefine alienation as the lack of opportunities to experience the Other, perhaps also the lack of opportunities to learn dispositions to engaging with the Other.

More to the point however, Biesta is appealing to educators to ask themselves if they recognize the function of enabling and valorizing subjectification. Until they have the capacity to stand back from their education and recognize what it is doing to them, pupils are at the mercy of the system they are embedded in. The duty of teachers (Biesta, 2015) is to ask this question on their behalf.

If we want formal-learning situations to be sites of subjectivity we can orientate ourselves on Nieke's (2016) five maxims of learning (from a phenomenological Bildung perspective). Perhaps there is crucial pre-condition to these, namely the pedagogy of interruption. An educational experience has to be rich enough to awaken us out of the inactivity of being into the activity of becoming, of engaging with the world and with the Other. The first maxim is that the learners must experience the experiences they have as relevant to their personal development. The learners need to be motivated to learn expansively (Grotlüschen, 2004). They need to experience that the learning process leads to a sense of coherence and that, through reflection, new learning experiences can be related to an overall, bigger picture. Learning must be experienced as enhancing one's ability to cope with the demands of life, as making one more resilient. Then learning constitutes identity because it has become learning to become a subject.

The only evidence I can offer in this study to support this comes from the participants' reflective comments on learning English as a foreign language, which I have reported on in section 4.5.9. They find the topics relevant. They understand the learning process and experience that it leads to better competence (one could say they can participate more effectively in the sense that they can say more accurately what they wish to express- thus enabling them to be socialized as English-speakers) and they feel it helps them cope with the demands of the exams. And the experience sometimes provides them with subjectification events helping them towards becoming subjects.

CHAPTER FIVE: REFLECTIONS AND OUTCOMES

The study was of necessity small-scale and the sample was small and therefore I do not expect to make any general claims on the basis of this data, rich though it was. I set out to find out how students at the end of their time at school construct accounts of their learning and personal development, where they experience this and to explore what this might tell us about learning to become a subject. As I have discussed in section 4.6, the evidence shows that they constructed both non-verbal and verbal narratives of their lives and learning experiences as if these were coherent and gave them meaning. I have suggested this is part of the process of subjectification. They located their experiences of personal development, which I have taken to be indicative of subjectivity, predominantly in non-formal learning situations. The data strongly suggest that scaffolded reflection supports this process.

Thus the data show various aspects of becoming a subject that align with Biesta's (2013) notion of subjectification. Biesta's ideas are influential in the educational world but I am unaware of any studies that looked for empirical evidence of how his notion of subjectification in school contexts might look like in practice. The study has in a small way continued Biesta's earlier empirical work on learning in the lifecourse by focusing on biographical aspects of learning in upper school students.

I think that I have offered a plausible theoretical account of why there is a link between subjectification and the non-formal learning situations. I have called this theoretical account sojourning in landscapes of practice and based it social practice theory of apprenticeship as guided participation and appropriation (Rogoff, 1995) (abbreviated to sojourning).

I think the main value of the study, and where its claim to originality lies, is in making an unfamiliar aspect of learning visible through the metaphor of learning to become a subject through sojourning. The study has enriched my understanding of the issues immeasurably by allowing me to access and participate in knowledgeability about various learning processes within my practice. The study also shows how a small-scale study by a practitioner within Waldorf practice can be done. To this extent it is rare (especially in the English language). I hope it will encourage other practitioners within Steiner education to take whatever opportunities they have to explore their practice at this level of criticality and with a theoretical perspective that makes the familiar unfamiliar in order to come to know it better (van Manen, 1991). I think it is important that teachers base their work on research.

In order to do this, I will have to reduce the thesis to other forms that teachers are likely to read. The literature on Steiner pedagogy, especially in German, is growing -indeed Waldorf has become a minor academic niche – yet very little of this has been written by practitioners. I think I have succeeded in putting a small piece of Waldorf practice on the academic map. There are many basic aspects of Steiner pedagogy in Waldorf schools that need researching academically, including from the inside, and this study makes a modest contribution to this. If successful, it will qualify me to tackle more such research.

The study also points to some implications for the school it was set in by emphasizing the important role of the non-formal learning situations and the use of reflection to support learning as becoming a person. Other practitioners may find the study interesting if they are interested in the issues discussed in the study and in particular it

suggests that the use of social practice theory may be of great value in understanding Waldorf practice.

Parallel to the writing up of this thesis, I conducted an evaluative study of three Waldorf institutions in different countries that work with young adults with disabilities (Rawson, 2017a). I used the theoretical construct of apprenticeship and in particular Rogoff's (2014) seven criteria for contexts that enable learning through observing and pitching in, which is essentially apprenticeship as appropriation (Rogoff, 1995). I believe this makes a significant new contribution to the Waldorf discourse, in particular to understanding processes of learning, identity and inclusion in communities of practice, including kindergarten, schools and therapeutic settings.

As already discussed in the previous chapter, the research design did not allow sufficient interrogation of the focus on exams that was one of my concerns at the outset. Perhaps I could have addressed this issue more effectively. Perhaps more importantly, my theorizing has suggested what it takes for learning to offer opportunities for subjectification and to some extent the English as a foreign language lessons demonstrate some aspects of this. Reflection seems to be a crucial element in learning as becoming a subject and this will certainly be a focus of subsequent research. The study also points to the potential value of inquiry into biographical learning among young people at school, or other forms of full-time education. Just as the research by Alheit and Biesta and colleagues over the past 20 years has shed light on many aspects of lifelong learning and learning in the lifecourse, this study shows the potential, both in terms of method and theory for biographical research in educational settings. If there is more to the education we offer youth and young adults than the accumulation of exam results, particularly in terms of subjectification, then more research will be needed with more resources than were available to me in this study.

I believe that the ideas that have emerged from this modest study do provide a theoretical basis for others looking at learning processes in secondary education and who wish to take the development of the person into account. I believe that I have made a strong enough case to justify the dedication of significant school time to project work, work experience and providing students with open spaces for learning that interests them. The question as to whether the perspectives developed here are relevant outside of Waldorf schools is not for me to judge.

The research design in this study was complex even though the sample was small and the outcomes are modest in relation to what I understand as the significance of the theme. I feel that the use of non-verbal methods was the most interesting aspect of the data collection. It is a theme that deserves a much more comprehensive study than I have been able to carry out. However, in terms of my own learning as a researcher, it was rich experience. The research opened up many new perspectives for more extensive and more founded research.

The implications of this study for Waldorf schools, wherever they are around the world, can be outlined as follows. The study emphasizes the importance of non-formal learning situations such as projects and work experience practicals or internships, particularly when these allow young people to experience authentic social practices and work environments and in which they have the opportunity to leave the familiar community of learners they are embedded in. Firstly, sojourning in other practices provides new

experiences and perspectives but the aspect of interruption is also particularly important. Interruption events (Biesta, 2013) cannot be planned but some situations are more likely to offer them than others.

The significance of such experiences relates closely to the processes of becoming a subject, or what is traditionally referred to in Waldorf discourse as the development of the person, which after all is a key aim of the education. The aim of enabling such non-formal learning situations is not primarily career orientation, but becoming a subject. This is not a process that is likely to occur in younger children, so experience in authentic work situations, if it is to have the transformational effects being highlighted here, should not come too early.

My personal view based on many years of experience, suggests that the process needs to occur in adolescence. This does not mean that younger children should not experience authentic practices- far from it! However, young children need to be accompanied by teachers and be embedded in a learning community that structures and shapes the learning processes. The class community shares an experience of visiting a farm with their teachers. This is a different experience to individuals leaving the class community and being embedded in the unfamiliar practice of a farm for three weeks. In the former example, the community shares an experience; in the latter the individual has an experience in another community.

This is an aspect that could pertain to any school, regardless of its educational model. However, one needs to be clear what the purpose of such activities is. The intention, context, the planning and forms given to internships or practicals is decisive. A BBC report entitled, Italy school students 'strike' over work experience (BBC, 2017) refers to 900,000 children participating annually in work experience. The striking students were protesting at their status in the work place and demanding a code of ethics for companies. The Student Network is quoted as demanding "work placements that provide real alternative training and quality for all...we are tired of being humiliated by our companies, whose work experience does not amount to training at all". The students feel exploited and used as cheap, unskilled labour. The Education Minister is quoted as saying that students are given "complementary skills that enable them to face the future with more knowledge." A spokesperson for McDonald's noted that they take up to 10,000 students a year, "with the aim of helping young people develop skills required in their future employment." Without knowing more about the actual situation in Italy, this report nevertheless highlights the risks of an instrumental approach in which policy makers, industry and pupils appear to have different understandings of the function of the internships.

The experiences reported in the present study show that such work experience opportunities can be rewarding for the development of the person but under certain conditions that were taken-for-granted by the participants in the study. These include the close liaison between school and work place so that the aims are clear. It is not preparation for working in any particular industry, but rather the development of the person. What is clear to all, both work place and pupils, is that the exercise is one of mutual learning and not exploitation (Rawson and Stöckli, 2003).

Another major implication of the study is the value of scaffolded reflection during the practical or project, as described in the study. This deepens and consolidates the

transformative learning process (Moon, 1999, 2004). The third major aspect is what the study implies about formal learning. The participants felt that relatively little of their formal learning was important for their personal development. I have suggested that this has to do with alienation on the one hand and the lack of authenticity on the other. This is a supposition that would be important to explore in more detail. None of these aspects are exclusive to Steiner education but to any educational approach that sees enabling subjectification as part of its function alongside socialization and qualification (Biesta, 2013).

Waldorf schools have to address the extent to which they allow the focus on exams to interfere with non-formal learning situations of the kind discussed here, and whether there is a different approach to learning in core subjects with high stake exam performance as a primary focus than in non-exam subjects, and whether teaching exam subjects can also be sites for subjectification, as actually intended by the published aims of Steiner education (e.g. Avison and Rawson, 2014, Götte et al, 2016).

I did not anticipate that writing up the thesis would be as difficult as it was. At each stage I had to reduce and confine, with the attendant and ongoing risk of diminishing the scope and relevance of the study and of losing the thread and considerable time was spent re-writing and editing, which was also technically challenging whilst in full-time work. The word limit was a major challenge, given the complexity of the theoretical considerations and was not resolved to my satisfaction. The study probably suffers from being theoretically top heavy- the boat being too small for its theoretical cargo. One of the main challenges was juggling literature and data in two languages in a trans-cultural study. I think I have found a good balance and have done justice to both the data and the literature. The external judges who read the data in the original language of German both agreed that my mediation from German was reliable and my interpretations were plausible. The examples I have provided of the process of analysis and the construction of thematic categories are transparent and the themes consistent with the evidence and the theory used.

The study was limited in ways I have already indicated. These limitations were partly self-imposed in order to try to limit my influence as teacher on the students in the study (though this is a problem that all practitioners face in doing research in their own institutions, as Hitchcock and Hughes (1989) noted). The study was also limited because it lacked the active dialogue that comes with working in a team, my preferred way of conducting research, particularly given the intercultural nature of the study. I believe that no individuals or institutions were put at risk and the outcomes were affirmative of existing practices in my school.

I have arrived at the end of this thesis with a lot of new questions and research tasks.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Number of weeks when students are not in regular lessons

Class	Activity	number of weeks devoted full time
8 (age 14)	Class play	6 weeks
8	Half year projects- independent projects by students mainly outside of school	2 weeks for completion and presentation
8	Class trip (e.g. sailing, cycling, camping)	2 weeks
9	Farming work experience- alone or in pairs residential on a farm, sometimes abroad	3 weeks (students often add 2 weeks half term to the length of the placement)
Classes 9 to 12	Project week: each year there is a week devoted for all the upper school students for group projects of their own choosing	4 weeks
10	Business work experience- usually alone in a place of work	3 weeks
10	Class trip (e.g. camping, hiking trip to Iceland)	2 weeks
11	Social work placement (alone in a social institution)	3 weeks
12	Class play: drama production in which students choose a play, rehearse and stage it with professional support in stage management/lighting etc.	6 weeks
12	Independent project (each student chooses a theme, finds a mentor, researches, carries out a practical project, documents this in a portfolio and makes a public presentation)	1 week preparations and presentations
12	Class trip (including social or artistic activities)	2 weeks
	Total weeks (each school year has 36 weeks)	34 weeks (from 180)

That represents about 19% of the total teaching time (with many of these activities taking up more of the day than school lessons do), almost one whole year out of five. The table also does not even include arts and crafts (in class 9 and 10, this involves three whole weeks each year in a craft block, reduced in classes 11 and 12 to 4 lessons a week) or time for orchestra, Eurythmy (an art of movement) and tutorials (a further 4 lessons a week) that are not related to exams.

Appendix 2 (original quote from transcript 6 in Chapter 2)

R. Ahnenforschung, also meinen Stammbaum aufgestellt und deshalb äh, war das schon wichtig, obwohl ich vieles davon schon wusste. Aber das noch mal aufzuschreiben – und ich hatte ja auch Geschichten zu meine Verwandten irgendwie aufgestellt und dann nach der Suche – jeder ist ja irgendwie auf der Suche nach sich selbst und wenn man dann, ähm... bis in die Vergangenheit guckt, dann hilft das

I. Wissen sie noch, wie sie auf dieses Thema gekommen sind?

R: Mh, größtenteils aus Interesse und das...

Da ich ja ne sehr große Patchworkfamilie hab – also viele 1. Ehe, 2. Ehe und, und da auch immer Kinder aus 1. und 2. Ehe und jetzt über verschiedenen Länder verteilt – wurde man oft gefragt, „ja und wer ist der?“ Und „in welcher Beziehung stehst du zu dem/oder der?“.

Mh, und wenn man das dann selbst nicht genau wusste, dann hat man sich eher schlecht gefühlt, dass man seine eigene Familie nicht kennt und – ja genau, das war auch ein Antrieb.

Appendix 3 Examples of consent forms

Martyn Rawson
School of Education , Plymouth University, UK.
Professional Doctorate in Education
Email: martyn.rawson@plymouth.ac.uk Telephone: 0049 174 2415811
Address: Eichenweg 26, 25358 Horst, Germany

Forschungsthema: Lernerfahrungen von Schülerinnen und Schülern
in formellen und informellen Lernsituationen
Forscher: Martyn Rawson

Einverständniserklärung

Hiermit erkläre mich bereit an dem oben genannten Forschungsprojekt teilzunehmen. Ich fühle mich ausreichend über Zielsetzung und Rahmen des Projektes informiert. Ich verstehe, dass das Projekt nach den ethischen Forschungskriterien und Standards der University Plymouth sowie der British Educational Research Association durchgeführt wird.

Ich bestätige, dass meine Beteiligung als ForschungsteilnehmerIn freiwillig ist. Ich akzeptiere, dass Martyn Rawson alles unternehmen wird um zu sichern, dass mir keine psychischen oder beruflichen Schäden durch meine Beteiligung erfolgen werden. Ich verstehe, dass der Forscher konsequent, ehrlich, transparent und vertrauenswürdig vorgeht, damit das Projekt gelingt.

Ich verstehe, dass die Transkriptionen von Interviews kodiert und dadurch anonymisiert werden. Ich verstehe auch, dass es nicht immer möglich ist, absolut Anonymität zu sichern. Unter Umständen wird man Einrichtungen, eventuell Personen erkennen können, dennoch bemüht sich der Forscher mit den Daten so umzugehen, dass die Interessen der TeilnehmerInnen und der Einrichtungen respektiert und geschützt werden.

Alle TeilnehmerInnen dürfen Einsicht in die Transkriptionen und Auswertungen ihrer eigenen Texte bekommen und sie sogar kommentieren. Ich verstehe, dass ich das Recht habe, meine Daten bis zum Zeitpunkt des Durchlesens der Transkription zurück zu ziehen.

Der Forscher wird mich auf meinen Wunsch über den Verlauf des Projektes informieren.

Am Ende des Projektes wird die Dissertation nicht in dieser Form veröffentlicht, sondern die Ergebnisse werden in Form mehrerer Artikel in Peer-Review Fachzeitschriften disseminiert. Diese Fachzeitschriften haben ihre eigenen strengen ethischen Kriterien. Darüber hinaus wird es auch allgemeine Darstellungen (z.B. in Waldorfzeitschriften) geben, in denen keine präzisen Daten zitiert werden.

Ich verstehe, dass falls ich Fragen habe oder mich beschweren möchte, ich mich an Dr. Peter Kelly (peter.kelly@plymouth.ac.uk), Director of Studies at the Faculty of Education, wenden kann.

Ich bin damit einverstanden, TeilnehmerIn in diesem Projekt zu sein und bestätige das mit meiner Unterschrift:

Unterschrift.....Ort.....Datum.....

Name (Druckschrift).....
Transkriptionscode.....

Translation

Research project: An inquiry into students' experiences of formal and informal learning in educational settings as part of an Educational Doctorate

By Martyn Rawson

Consent for participation in Research

Code.....

I agree to participate in the above named research project conducted by Martyn Rawson, a doctoral student at the University of Plymouth. I have read and understood the information sheet Briefing for participants which outlines what is being asked of me and have had opportunities to ask for clarification of any points. I hereby give my consent that Martyn Rawson may use the transcript of our interview for his research.

I understand that participation is voluntary and that there will be no payment for participation. I acknowledge that the researcher will do everything possible to ensure confidentiality by not revealing any sensitive information that may harm me psychologically or professionally. I understand that the researcher will act in an honest, transparent and trustworthy way. I understand he will endeavour to guarantee my anonymity and ensure that I cannot be identified in any published reports of this research.

I understand that the transcripts of the interviews, the work I show him, the drawings and the representations I make will be used anonymously by being coded. Once I have given my consent by signing this form Martyn Rawson may use this data.

All participants may request to see the transcripts and analysis and comment on these if they so wish. I understand that I have the right to withdraw my data at this point, however, I acknowledge that this might seriously jeopardize the Mr. Rawson's research and doctorate.

I understand that Martyn Rawson will inform me of the outcomes of the research either verbally or in a short summary of the research outcomes once his thesis has been accepted by the university. The thesis will not be published, but rather the outcomes may be published in the form of articles in journals. These have their own rigorous ethics criteria. A more general summary may be published in a Waldorf context.

I acknowledge that Martyn Rawson is aiming to invoke the virtues of rigour, transparency and trust in carrying out this piece of educational research.

I understand that this research project has been approved by the Ethics Sub-Committee of the University of Plymouth and is in accord with the University's Research Ethics and Policies Procedures. I understand that if I have questions about this I can address these to Dr Peter Kelly (peter.kelly@plymouth.ac.uk) Director of Studies at the Faculty of Education and supervisor of the researcher's project.

I agree that that excerpts of my writing or transcripts of interviews may be used as data in Martyn Rawson's research and may be cited in his thesis.

My signature

My printed name

date --/--/2014

Information for participants –German version

Martyn Rawson: School of Education, Plymouth University, UK.
Professional Doctorate in Education
Email: martyn.rawson@plymouth.ac.uk Telephone: 0049 174 2415811
Address: Eichenweg 26, 25358 Horst, Germany

Forschung als Teil einer Doktorarbeit

Forschungsthema: Lernerfahrungen von Schülerinnen und Schülern
in formellen und informellen Lernsituationen
Forscher: Martyn Rawson

Information für Teilnehmer

Meine Forschung

Diese Forschung findet im Rahmen einer Doktorarbeit an der University of Plymouth, England, statt. Sie wird nach den höchsten ethischen Forschungsstandards durchgeführt.
Ich interessiere mich für die Lernerfahrungen von Schüler/innen in der Oberstufe an der Freien Waldorfschule Elmshorn in den informellen Lernsituationen wie Projekte oder Praktika sowie formellen Lernsituationen wie Fachunterricht.

Ich werde insgesamt 12 Schülerinnen und Schüler der 13 Klasse mit Hilfe eines Interviews nach ihren Erfahrungen befragen. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt möchte ich nicht zu viel über die Zielsetzungen der Untersuchung schreiben oder sagen, um eine Beeinflussung der Beteiligten zu vermeiden. Nachdem die Thesis fertig ist, werde ich die Beteiligten ausführlich darüber informieren, was genau die Themen meiner Untersuchung sind und was die Ergebnisse der Forschung waren. Die Beteiligung ist völlig freiwillig. Die TeilnehmerInnen werden gebeten ihr Einverständnis zu geben, dass ich Ihre Daten im Rahmen der Thesis anonym benutzen darf. Ich werde auch einen Lehrer befragen, um Information über den Lehrplan der Oberstufe an der Schule zu bekommen.

Was müssen die Beteiligten tun?

Meine Hauptforschungsmethodik ist das offene Interview, in dem die Beteiligten gebeten werden, ihre Erfahrungen in Zusammenhang mit den Praktika, Projekten und Fächern detailliert und möglichst wertfrei zu beschreiben. Als Erinnerungshilfe werden sie gebeten, ihr Portfolio bzw. ihre Epochendokumentation mitzubringen. Die Interviews werden bis zu einer Stunde dauern und werden mit einem digitalen Aufnahmegerät aufgenommen. Die Interviews werden zwischen 40 und 50 Minuten dauern.

Vor jedem Interview werde ich die Beteiligten bitten, drei Zeichnungen zu machen:

Erstens sollen sie ein Bild in Form einer Zeichnung oder Grafik machen, in dem sie ihren Lebensweg bis zur Gegenwart und in die gewünschte Zukunft darstellen. Sie werden gebeten, allerdings nur wer im Anschluss bereit ist, mit mir darüber zu sprechen. Niemand muss etwas Persönliches oder Intimes darstellen, wenn er es nicht möchte.

Wo bin ich? Zweitens werden die Teilnehmer/innen gebeten, ein Bild zu zeichnen, wie sie ihr Leben gegenwärtig erleben. Das Bild soll eine Art Karte sein, welche ihre Beziehungen (Nähe, Distanz, Wichtigkeit- z.B. visualisiert durch groß oder klein) zu Menschen (Freunde, Familie, Lehrkräfte etc.), Einrichtungen, Interessen (Freizeit wie Sport, Musik, Mode, Shoppen etc.) darstellt, um zu deuten, wie wichtig diese Menschen und Tätigkeiten sind für sie sind. Sie positionieren sich, indem sie sich selbst symbolisch in Beziehungen zu anderen deuten.

Welche Lernsituationen (Unterricht, Praktika, Projekte) habe ich als wichtig für meine persönliche Entwicklung erlebt? Sie sollen Kärtchen mit den Lernsituationen auf dem Brett um das Zentrum herum, wo das Wort „Ich“ steht, verteilen. Die Konstellationen werden fotografiert.

Das wird ein Interview durchgeführt, in dem die TeilnehmerInnen gebeten werden ihre Erfahrungen des Lernens zu beschreiben.

Die TeilnehmerInnen werden gebeten ihr Portfolios zu den Praktika mitzubringen.

Die Bilder werden nicht vom Forscher inhaltlich interpretiert, sondern die Beteiligten werden während des Interviews gebeten, sie selbst zu deuten bzw. das in Worte zu fassen, was auf den Bildern zum Ausdruck kommt. Außerdem werde ich die verschiedenen benannten Lernsituationen danach fragen.

Nach dem Interview wird jede/jeder Teilnehmer/in gebeten, eine Einverständniserklärung für die Verwendung der Daten im Rahmen meiner Forschung zu unterschreiben. Diese Einverständniserklärung klärt außerdem über die konkreten Bedingungen der Verwendung auf.

Das ethische Protokoll:

Die Forschung wird nach den strengen Kriterien der University of Plymouth Ethics Committee (Forschung in Bildung und Gesundheit) sowie British Educational Research Association (BERA) durchgeführt.

Informierte und freiwillige Beteiligung:

Die Beteiligung an diesem Forschungsprojekt ist freiwillig. Der Forscher wird alles dafür tun, dass kein/e Teilnehmer/in durch die Beteiligung einen persönlichen oder beruflichen Schaden erleidet. Die Teilnehmer/innen können das Interview jeder Zeit abbrechen oder die Antwort verweigern, ohne dass es zu Schwierigkeiten kommt.

Alle Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer werden gebeten, eine Einverständniserklärung zu unterschreiben, dass Martyn Rawson Transkriptionen ihrer Worte für seine Forschung verwenden darf. Auch die Schule wird um ihre Genehmigung gebeten. Da die Schülerinnen und Schüler mindestens 19 Jahre alt sind, dürfen sie selbst ihr Einverständnis geben.

Da ich als Forscher auch Lehrer von diesen Schülerinnen und Schülern bin, ist das Verhältnis Lehrkraft/Schülerin zu beachten, damit kein Nachteil oder Vorteil aus der Beteiligung oder Nichtbeteiligung entsteht. Jede/r Teilnehmer/in wird spezifisch auf diese Möglichkeit hingewiesen. Das Forschungsthema ist nicht besonders sensibel oder intim und hat keine Relevanz für die Bewertung von schulischen Leistungen.

Alle Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer werden über die Forschungsziele und Methoden aufgeklärt und nach dem Abschluss des Projektes über die Ergebnisse informiert.

Vertraulichkeit

Der Forscher wird mit den Transkriptionen und Daten stets vertraulich umgehen. Nur die Supervisoren werden die Daten lesen können, um die Dissertation bewerten zu können. Zwei Datensätze werden zwei externen Professoren anonym gezeigt, um das Verfahren und die Übersetzungen zu überprüfen.

Die Ergebnisse der Studie werden so präsentiert, dass es nicht möglich sein wird, die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer zu erkennen. Auch die Schule wird nicht genannt (eine Waldorfschule in Deutschland). Der Forscher kann keine absolute Anonymität garantieren, verpflichtet sich aber, die Daten so darzustellen, dass keine Person oder Einrichtung zu Schaden kommt.

Das Recht sich zurückzuziehen

Jede Teilnehmerin und jeder Teilnehmer hat das Recht, sein Einverständnis zur Benutzung der Daten bis zum Zeitpunkt der Sichtung der Transkription zurückzuziehen. Nach diesem Zeitpunkt kann der Rückzug das Forschungsprojekt kompromittieren oder ungültig machen, was wiederum die Promotion des Forschers gefährden kann. Von daher können die Daten zu diesem Zeitpunkt nur dann zurückgenommen werden, wenn der Forscher dies für möglich hält oder ein Kompromiss gefunden werden kann. Deswegen werden Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer gebeten, ihre Zusage durch eine Unterschrift zu bestätigen.

Feedback

Der Forscher wird die Teilnehmer und Teilnehmerinnen nach Abschluss der Arbeit zu einem Treffen einladen (bzw. sie schriftlich per Email informieren), um ihnen die Ergebnisse der Studie zu erläutern.

Dissemination

Die Dissertation wird nach den Gepflogenheiten britischer Hochschulen nicht veröffentlicht, sondern wird in der Bibliothek der Universität gelagert. Berichte der Forschung werden in wissenschaftlichen Fachzeitschriften veröffentlicht sowie in Waldorfzeitschriften bekannt gemacht.

Datenspeicherung

Die Papierdaten werden 10 Jahre in einem sicheren Schrank aufbewahrt. Elektronische Daten werden auf einer sicheren externen Festplatte gespeichert. Nach Datenschutzbestimmungen haben Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer das Recht auf Zugang zu diesen Daten.

Beschwerden

Falls eine Teilnehmerin oder ein Teilnehmer sich ungerecht behandelt fühlt oder sich beschweren möchte, kann er oder sie jederzeit Kontakt mit der Administrative Assistant of Research der Plymouth University

(Claire Butcher claire.butcher@plymouth.ac.uk) and /or the Director of Studies Dr. Peter Kelly (peter.kelly@plymouth.ac.uk) aufnehmen.

Wenn Sie weitere Fragen haben, sprechen Sie mich bitte direkt an.

Herzlichen Dank für Ihr Interesse und Ihre Beteiligung!

Martyn Rawson Juni 2014

Translation

Information for participants
and research ethics

Research project: An inquiry into students's experiences of formal and informal learning in educational settings

Martyn Rawson

My Research

This research is part of my Education Doctorate at the University of Plymouth, UK. It will be carried out according to the highest rigorous research standards.

I am interested in processes of formal learning in lessons and blocks as well as informal learning in practicals and projects. I will interview 12 class 13 students about their experiences of learning. I will not provide more than this information about the focus of my inquiry at the time of the data collection in order not to compromise or influence what they say. Once the thesis is completed I will inform the participants about the focus and outcome of the study.

I will also interview one teacher in order to get background information about the school's teaching programme.

Time commitment of participants

After making a short presentation to participants explaining that they may stop the interview at any point, and asking for any clarification, answering their questions, the interview will last between 40 and 50 minutes and will be digitally recorded and then later transcribed in their entirety.

The tasks

The participants will be asked to draw a picture or graphic of their life up to now and how they imagine the future will be using coloured pencils and paper showing the most important. No one has to show anything intimate or personal that they are not willing to talk about afterwards.

The second task involves the participants writing down the things, people and activities that are most important to them at the present, by writing these on post-its and placing them on a large card with the word ME at the centre. The things that are most important should be put nearest to the word ME.

The third task is similar and involves placing cards with subjects or informal learning activities/situations on a large card with ME at the centre in answer to the question: which learning situations (or subjects) were most important for your personal development? The drawings and graphics will be photographed. Then we will have an interview in the form of a conversation in which I will mainly ask you to say what you experienced doing the drawings and graphics. This will be digitally recorded.

The participants will be asked to bring along their portfolios from their practicals and we may use these as prompts during the interview.

The whole process should not take longer than about 70 Minutes.

Informed consent

The school, whose students are involved has been formally asked and has given consent to allow me to conduct this study. Each individual participant will be asked to sign a consent form specifying exactly what they are expected to do, the conditions of confidentiality, participation, right to withdrawal or refusal to answer specific questions, complaints procedures and rights to feedback. The participants are all over 19 years of age are deemed capable to making their own decisions.

Participation and the right to withdraw

Participation is entirely voluntary. The participants may refuse to participate for any reason without any negative consequences. Participants can refuse to answer any question and may end the interview when they wish to. However once consent has been formally given (by signing the consent form) the data may be used in the report.

Anonymity and confidentiality

The findings of the research will be presented in such a way that no individual or institution can be identified unless he/she specifically agrees to be identified. Information that is already in the public domain is not covered by this commitment to confidentiality.

Openness and honesty

As far as possible I will be open and honest about the purpose and application of the research. No covert forms of data gathering will be used. The participants will not be informed of the exact aims of the research until after the interview so as not to influence them in what they say. Thus they are informed in a general way about the research aims and the title of the project.

Protection from harm

I will endeavour to ensure that no person comes to psychological or professional harm (or in the case of school pupils to influence their academic grades) through this research and that no institution is harmed in regard to its reputation.

Feedback, debriefing and dissemination

Once the thesis has been accepted and passed the researcher will report back verbally and with a short written summary of the outcomes to the participants. Copies of the final research summary will be sent to all participating institutions and disseminated via journals. The thesis will be available in the university library but will otherwise not be published.

Data storage

The university's research ethics policy states that data should be securely held for a minimum of ten years after the completion of the research project. Electronic data will be stored on password protected laptops (and on an external hard drive) and individual files and/or discs will be encrypted. Hard copies of data will be stored in locked filing cabinets and disposed of securely when no longer required.

Digital recordings of interviews and transcripts will be kept on an external hard-drive stored in a locked cupboard, to which only the researcher has access. The same applies to any hard copies of texts.

Complaints procedure

If for any reason participants have grounds for complaint that cannot be dealt with by speaking to the researcher directly they may contact Dr Peter Kelly, the Director of Studies at the Faculty of Education, Health and Society at the University of Plymouth (peter.kelly@plymouth.ac.uk), who is Martyn's supervisor. Such complaints will be dealt with in complete confidentiality and will have no negative consequences for the participant. One can also contact the university's Administrative Assistant (Research), Claire Butcher at claire.butcher@plymouth.ac.uk,

Martyn Rawson

Appendix 5 Transcript No. 13: Interview with a teacher

I = Interviewer (Martyn Rawson)

R = Respondent

I: Could you just say your name and your role in the School?

R: Well, my name is (deleted) and I've been teaching in this school for seventeen years now. I'm mainly teaching in upper school for the last six years and ... mh, I'm teaching Biology, English and Chemistry and I'm responsible at the moment for one of the work-experiences, yes. – And I'm upper-school- coordinator.

I: "Upper-school-coordinator", yes! The school offers for the upper school – from class 9 until 12 and you arrange of projects and practicals. Could you say what they are and how they're organized?

R: Yes, it starts in class 9 – so upper school start's from class 9 – and, mh, at the end of class 9 we have a 3-weeks "agriculture work-experience". Originally it was in the beginning of the year of class 9, but due to feedback of the farmers we switched that to the end of class 9. And nowadays the pupils go normally in pairs, they find their own farm – should be a biodynamic or biological farming or farm – and then they get into contact with the farm and the spend 3 weeks doing all sorts of work on the farm.

I: You said it used to be at the beginning of the year and it was moved to the end at the request of the farmers... what was the idea there?

R: Yes, they had the feeling that the pupils were too young at the beginning of class 9 and mmh, for some time it was becoming more and more difficult to find farms that could integrate the young people in a "meaningful" way, because it also means a lot of work for the farmers to care for the pupils.

I: Why do you only choose organic or biological farms?

R: Well, because the idea is that –mh – the pupils should get an Idea of the whole process of farming, including – mh – crops and animals and they should... well – mh – parallel to our attitude of teaching we want them to get an idea of yeah this sort of whole "wholesome" farming. So that it's not just monoculture cattle or just gees... so they get a whole impression of the farming process!

I: Yes, ok! they spend 3 weeks then on the farm and do they have to keep a journal or a log?

R: Yes, they get several tasks so they ...

At first - for the first week - they have to keep a journal, where they daily write down what they did. Then they should write something about the farm as such, as the organism – mh – so whether it's a cooperative, whether it's a private farm... so how the farm works and the history of the farm. Then they should choose a special topic like "making cheese" or mh, "potato farming" or what so ever, so that they get a deeper insight in one subject. And then they should also reflect on a special situation they experienced. And they put all these things together in a folder.

And they – Before they go, they write down expectations and when they come back they write a reflection of what they experienced.

I: And you get an opportunity to read these reflections?

R: Yes, we read them and we read the whole folder. And also – after they've come back – there's a parents evening where they present their experiences with different forms. Sometimes they make a poster about their farm and they talk to the parents about it. Sometimes they give a short presentation one after another. And normally you can see

that they've very much identified after three weeks: it's "THEIR" farm! And they talk about "OUR pigs" and "OUR cattle" and they get a feeling of belonging to this farm. And a number of pupils go back – go back in the next holidays – to visit their farm again.

I: Mh, looking back over the classes you've experienced; generally – mh- how do the pupils experience this? Obviously most of them are not familiar with day-to-day work on farms.

R: No, they are also not all keen on going – before they go. Mh, and ... well they choose the farm according to different aspects... In the last classes I experienced that they liked to go further away. So they have to choose a farm at least 30 km away from home, but nowadays they also go like to the South of Germany or to the east or even to another country. And over all – if you look at their feedback, the things they write – the most important experience is that they experience that they were of important! So that they took over some tasks - looking after the cattle or looking after the cheese – and most of the time it ... the reflection has the tone that they did something really important and are valued for what they did. And they get a sort of positive feedback and that seems to be a very important experience.

And even if they didn't like to go beforehand - or sometimes they have to stay in a sort of caravan and the situation often is not as comfortable as at home and maybe the facilities are not so great... But after the 3 weeks it doesn't matter anymore. So even girls that were very particular before sort of still enjoyed it very much, because also often on these biological farms there's a community of people and they meet new people and get new ideas about life. So overall the experiences are really good.

I: Are there ever any, who simply don't like it – even after 3 weeks?

R: Yes, but I think it's sort of... each year there might be one or two who have a problem. Sometimes it's the overall situation or being away from home or sometimes - if it's a new farm – it can happen that the communications doesn't work and then we try to find a different farm. So we have a few farms in the surroundings where they can then go and then normally it works out fine.

So it's not farming in general that they don't like, but the personal relationship might not work out.

I: Is it important that they go away from home?

R: Yes, I think it's very important! And I think sometimes it's a ...

We tell the parents beforehand that they should not call every day and that they should – when the children... well they use the phone a lot today and they immediately give feedback and complain and compare and share all the things they didn't like the first days – and we tell the parents not to react too much to that, so that the children get a chance to overcome that and not... yeah, that the parents not interfere too quickly! And I think it's very important that they are away from home, that they can establish their own way of dealing with problems, yeah!

I: Ok, let come to class 10!

R: Yes, in class 10 we have two practicals.

One is a "surveying practical" in the beginning of class 10, where the whole class goes to a place – mh – maybe an Island or an area. And they survey, they try to draw a surveying map and so they have to measure the distances and to use the ... sort of the original equipment before GPS, to find out about length and distances. And that's sort of very, well sort of mathematical. And they experience being away with the class as a group. And then at the end of class 10 we have - also three weeks now – a work-experience in – mh – in a company or little business, where we try to stay they should choose something, where they can do something! So even though you can't say anymore it must be like a carpenter or a builder, but they should make sure they don't just sit at a desk or

just watch other people do something. So they end up in bakeries or also in art-design firms or some to a hospital, some go to mechanics... - so they have very different experiences there!

And they go for three weeks. And what's also I think really positive here, it's they get a little different impression, because most of them live at home. They have to get to the business every day and go back and they experience a full work day. They experience the social climate in these different places. It's very different how they are received in the first days and then they have to find their way into this community of people, who work at this place.

And they also have to document this in a similar way as the agricultural experience. They write something about a typical day - so it doesn't have to be the exact day every day, but what's the typical day doing this work. Then they should describe the profession - so what's part of this profession. Also something about the business - so they get some insight about the economic side. And again they choose a special topic.

I: So then they do a research on that topic?

R: Yes, where they go a bit deeper. And again they reflect about their experience. And we also have a presentation-evening afterwards and normally parents are very impressed to see how - yeah - how grown-up these class 10 pupils talk about the work they did... how they made shoes or how they repaired cars. And again we have this aspect of identification. And -mh - yeah they experience a lot of different things about it.

I: And - generally speaking - do the pupils have positive experiences in the work place?

R: Yes, the - mh - even more when they really could do something! So sometimes they choose something that sounds interesting...

For example: I just read some reflections and a girl, she went to a studio, where they did recordings and it sounded really good, but she ended up noticing that she couldn't do so much, so she had to watch most of the time.

And you can say: in those places where they really can work and can do things they are mostly much more satisfied, because they also see what they did.

But it's also very interesting afterwards, when they exchange... Mh, we meet during this time - normally twice during these three weeks - and exchange impressions. And it's really interesting also for them to hear about different places.

I: Ok, so let's come to class 11!

R: In class 11 we do social-work-experience. That means it's three weeks in a social organization... that might be kindergarten or a hospital or old-peoples-home or a school that works with handicapped children. They also choose sometimes to go to other parts of Germany or even to another country to work in Camp-Hill organizations. And it should be work with people, with and for people. So this is not so much the "business aspect", but more the "social aspect" - to care for others and yes to notice what it takes to... be a ... to care for other people.

I: Ok and that also accompanied by journal and reflection?

R: Yes, it's accompanied by meetings and the meetings are quite important, because the pupils can also ask questions and... well sometimes it's more difficult to find the right way to talk with patience, talk with old people, than it is to repair a car... and so these meetings are important!

They also again write about it, about the organization, they are encouraged to observe one person - to get a feeling for other people, for their needs - and they write a reflection. And again we have a presentation-evening, where the parents can ask the pupils and they tell them about their experiences.

I: Ok! And in class 12?

R: Well, class 12 is ... there are sort of three important experiences, but they are all different:

There's the "class play" – this is not really a work-experience in that sense, but the whole class organizes and practices and performs a play. And they also experience all the different parts... while doing advertisement, doing the costumes, building the scenery and doing the play as such... and organizing the finances. So that's sort of one whole project to organize that!

And then there's the "years-project", where they do more research and practical experience on their own. Now they are normally not incorporated in a company – sometimes they do part of that... maybe they go to an instrument builder and build their own violin and then they mh, yes they do some research about that.

And in the end of class 12 there is the so called "art-project" where the whole class - it's a combination with a class-trip – where they go and do some art history in a certain country or place.

I: Mh, if we add all that up: three weeks in class 9, five weeks in class 10 (with the surveying), mh three weeks in class 11 and then the class play-project there they're working on the play for six weeks without any other lessons and then they're away for one week or two weeks on that art-project. That it is a lot of school-time! How does the school justify that to the parents or to the students themselves? Because when that is happening no more school lessons are taking place...

R: Funnily I never heard anybody complain about it, so I never actively had to justify it. But we do prepare the parents beforehand and we explain why we do it. And I think it becomes pretty obvious that it is a very important sort of "interruption" of normal school days, normal school life... and the pupils sort of can change their perspective on things!

Also in the beginning we did the agricultural-experience as a whole class and we noticed that they still stayed in their "roles" ... so pupils, who were sort of the clowns in class, were the clown on the farm and that's why we changed to an individual placement in the farming-experience. And so we tell the parents that the students have a chance to experience themselves and develop...

And I think all the teachers can say that, whenever a class comes back from such a work-experience, the class has changed and it always is an improvement of school work and it's always a new start. Especially the class-play has a very, mh, very changing aspect on the pupils.

Yes, we even increase these times. We started with two weeks of farming and two weeks of mh, work-experience in class 10 and have extended to three weeks. And we even thought about extending to four weeks and we haven't met any protest so far. Because I think also parents experience how positive this experience is for their children. And when we look back on the end of the school-time, those things are the ones that are mentioned.

So when pupils look back at the age of 18... - we have a talk in the last class with each pupil with teachers and pupil – those are the things they most often mention... how important those experiences were.

I: Mh, apart from these practical and projects, where journal work is done and reflection – do you work actively with "reflection" as part of the learning as part of our normal subject lessons in Chemistry, Biology and English?

R: Yes I do! I also work with a portfolio-method, in English as well as Biology, so reflection is one part of that. It's that I encourage the pupils to plan their own project for a certain time, that they set their own aims and that at the end of the time that we worked on a book or a project, that they look back and evaluate their own work –

according to criteria that we set up beforehand - and also reflect on their experience. And I think that's very important!

When I taught in class 7 and 8, I started this process in class 7 and 8 already. Also at the end of the year we look back to see what they learned and what they can remember and how they want to... whether they are satisfied or whether they want to improve something! Mh, I think that's something that you have to build up step by step in order to develop this capacity to reflect. Also not just "I like it", but also to see, what are the different experiences.

I: Do you think the reflection-process enhances the learning, because it puts into words, what the students otherwise feel - by making it conscious? Is that the main part that they represent their experiences?

R: Mh, I'm not even sure whether it's necessary that they put it into words, but rather that they make it "conscious" in a way! Because after the class-play - that really asks for a lot of different competences - I worked with a class 12 that was ... that hadn't done this reflection and also this sort of "describing of their own competences" during a project... they hadn't done that very often before. And so they started saying: "well, I had this role" and then it took some time to make them conscious of all the different things they actually achieved during this play... that they did something for the advertisement and the lighting and the costumes and...

So I think it approves their self-awareness or their feeling of what they really achieved. And I think that's, yeah ... and whether they then put it in words, so that somebody else can read it or they could also probably make a song about it or paint it or do something... but this putting it into words makes it conscious and that's - it's not so easy for them to do that.

But I think it's also... We do this description of tasks and competences. Now we try to do that after class 10 and 11 and after the class-play- project and it's also a process of looking at what you did in a bit more abstract way - so to slowly move out of the feeling of the emotional sphere and move into identifying different competences. And I guess that even though these work-experiences don't aim at finding your profession, but it helps the pupils to get to know themselves and to find out - yes, they also write: "It was very interesting to work here. And now I know I don't want to do that! But I liked this aspect or that aspect" ... so it's a way of helping them to find their own way and their own identity, I think.

I: Do you think that these projects are valued by the students and by the parents in terms of learning? Or what I'm trying to get at: Do they recognize it as learning?

R: Well, they recognize it as experience! And, mh - well...

I: And what do you think they would say if you asked them: "what do you mean by experience?"

R: I think they... after a presentation-evening after one of these work-experiences they would say: "it was amazing to see, how X or Y presented her work or what he did!" - so they will notice a change in personality.

And also - I mean they might not think it very valuable that now the pupils know how to harvest potatoes, because they might not need that again, but when they experience at home, how their children behave differently thenI think in ways of "informal learning" - if they have this idea of something like informal learning - then they would probably say that, yeah!

It depends on how parents see "learning", how aware they are of these different levels of learning.

I: So unless people are working in education for example they probably won't have such a broad understanding of learning?

R: No, if you didn't prepare them! I think that's the point in having parents-evenings before and having them regularly to introduce parents to this sort of pedagogical idea and to this way of educating their children. And if you prepare that beforehand, then they will have an idea of that.

I: What role does assessment play in this form of learning? Do the pupils – are they assessed? Do they think of it as something they have to achieve?

R: Well, I think they know that they have to achieve "staying there for 3 weeks". So that's sort of one assessment of "will I make it?". And then they know that normally, if possible, they are visited once. So the teachers visit the different places and talk to coworkers – to people who work there. And they get a feedback form they place where they worked. And they are assessed in the folder they do ... even though we more assess whether they did the folder, whether they met the requirements. And that's why we've now introduced this sort of portfolio, this competence-portfolio: that they describe themselves – what their tasks were and what were the challenges and how they managed these challenges? And we try to help them to formulate, what they really learned in terms of factual competence and social competence.

I: So you are not assessing them against any set of formal criteria?

R: No, we don't!

I: So their self-assessments is in relation to the targets they set themselves or the aims that they have?

R: Well, only the folder – as I said – only the folder is assessed to whether it meets the given aspects: whether it has all the texts that are required. And it's more giving a feedback on, yeah, how well they did: whether they accepted to have that experience, but not whether they....

It's difficult! You could only say they worked 8 hours a day, but you can't say they typed so and so many pages or something...

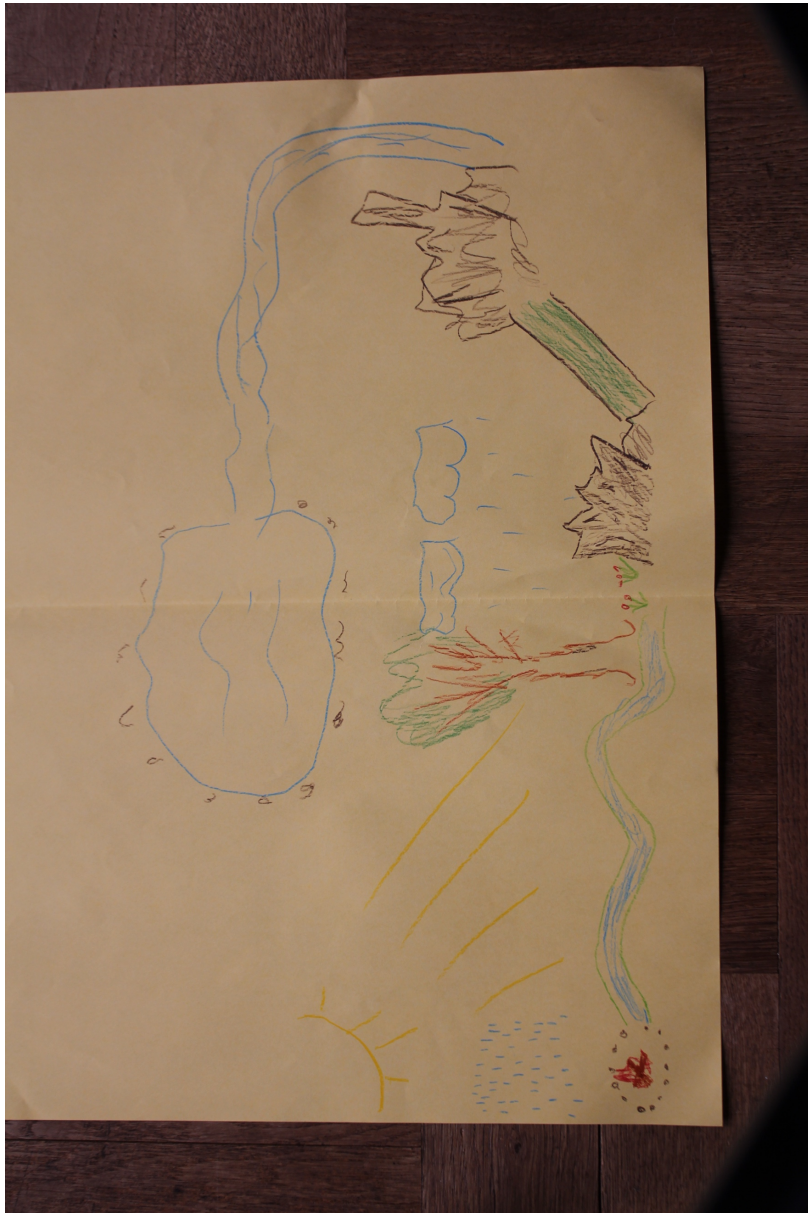
No, they get the assessment by the feedback of the company or the place they go. And it's mostly we give them – either they write something themselves or we give them a sheet, where they have to cross – and that is mostly asking, whether or pupils integrated into the work process? Whether they were able to adapt to things? It's more the social aspect – were they willing to accept the experience?

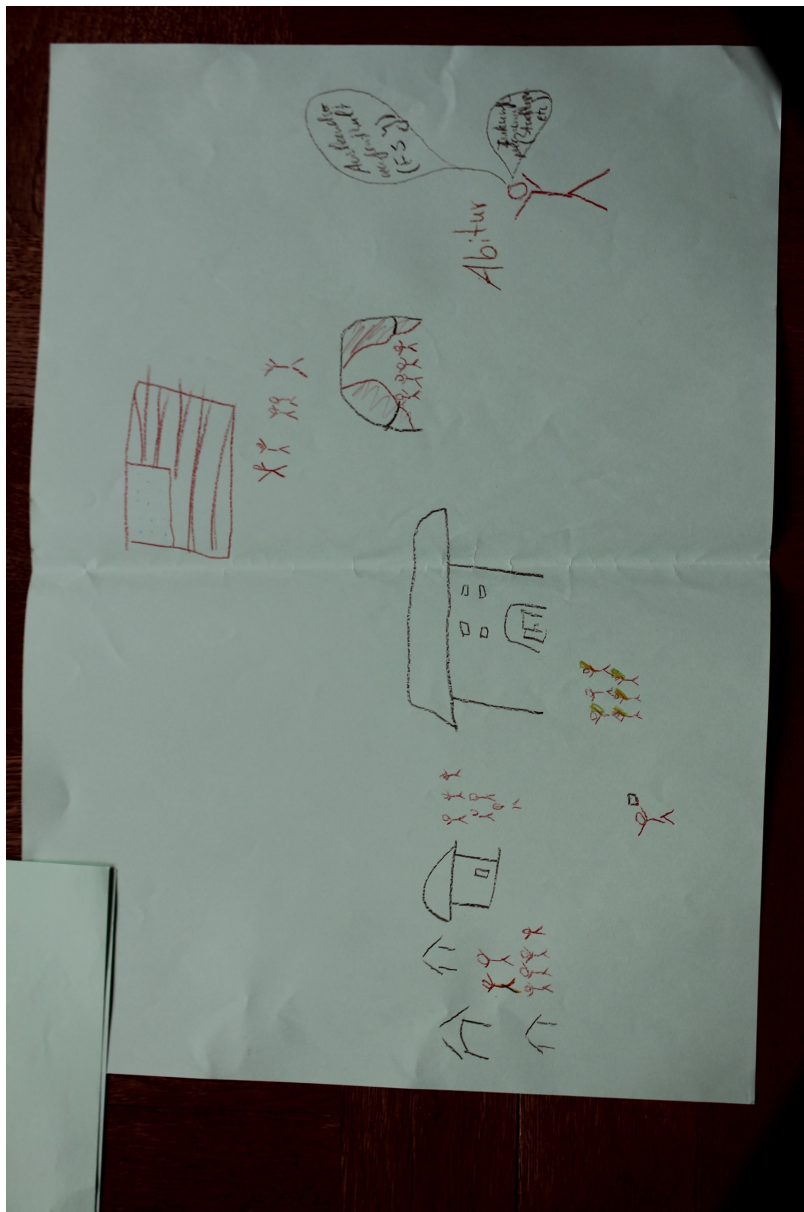
I: Ok, that was very helpful! Thank you very much!

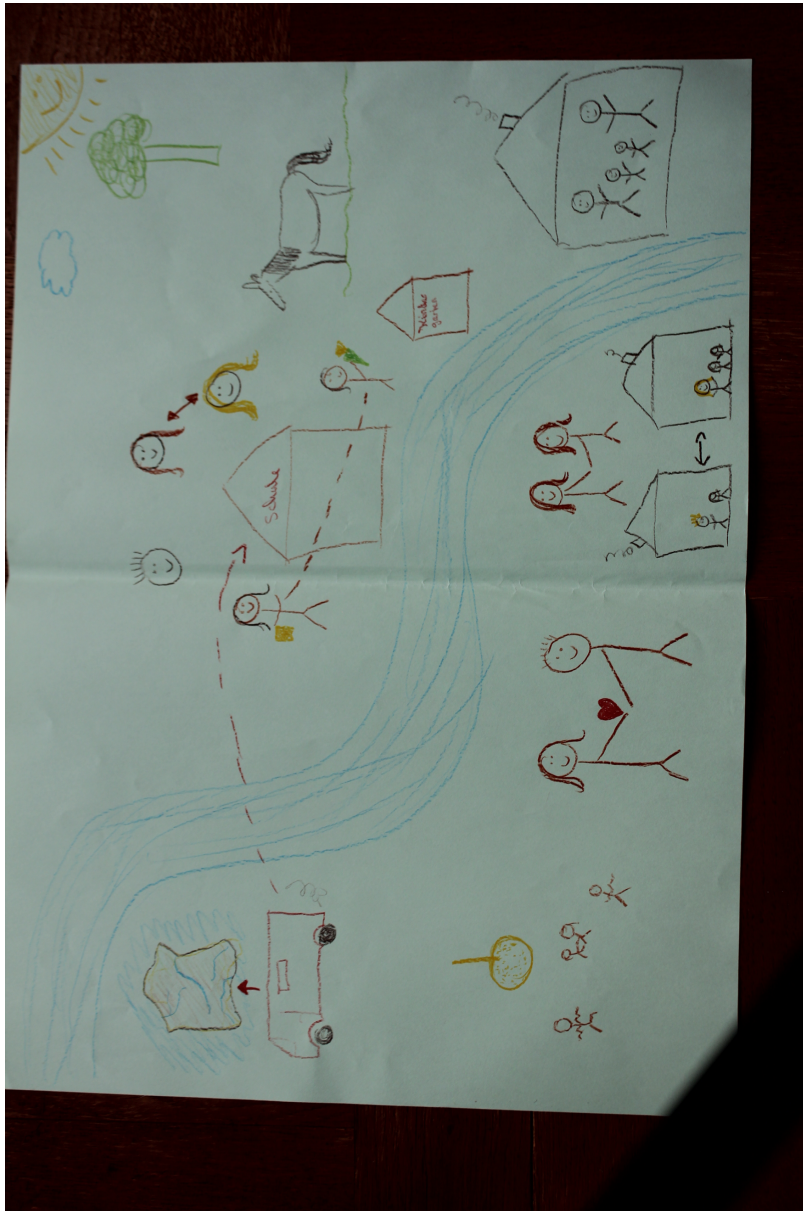
R: You're welcome!

Appendix 6 Biographic drawings of the participants



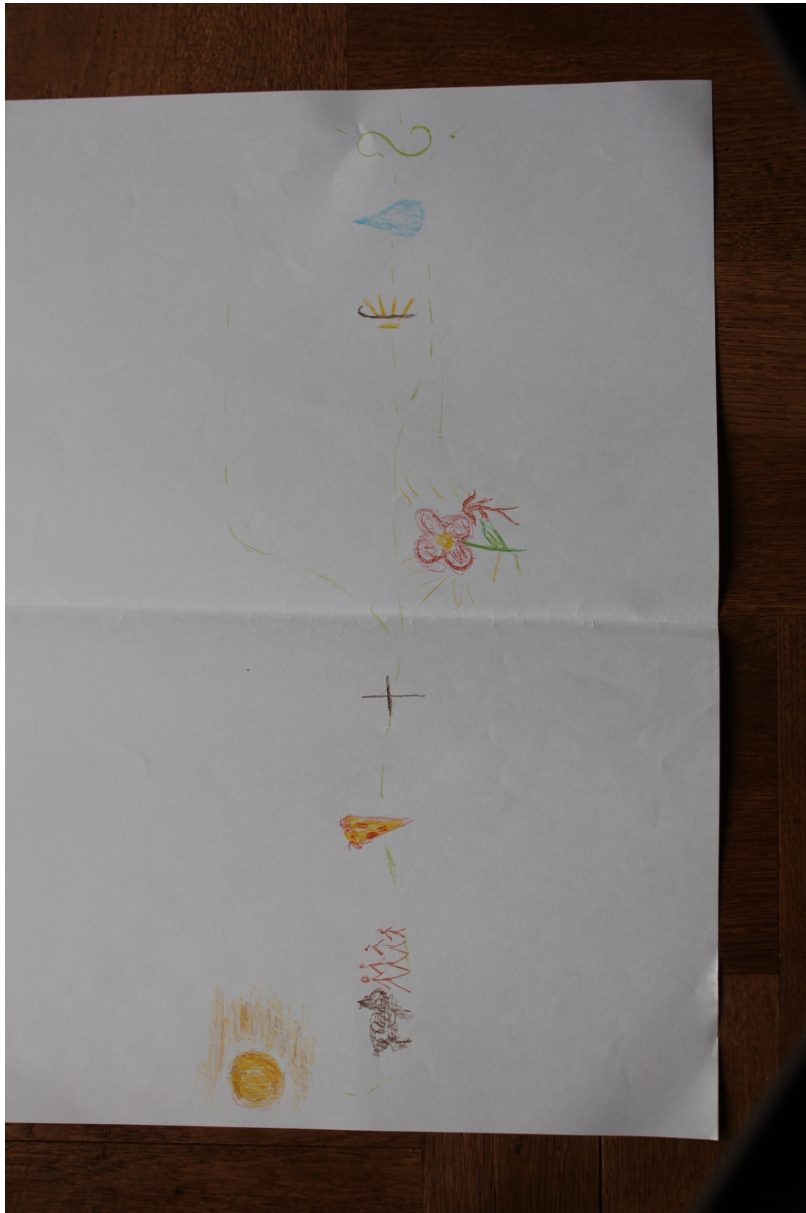


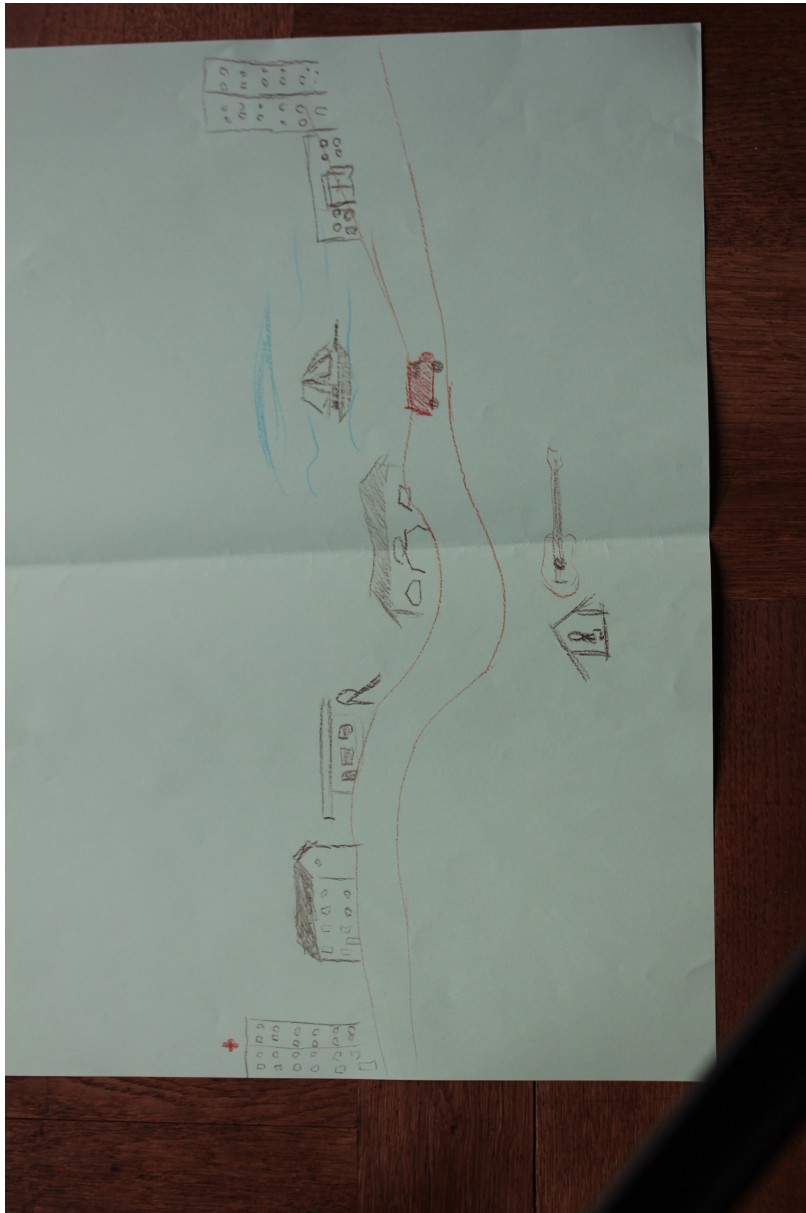


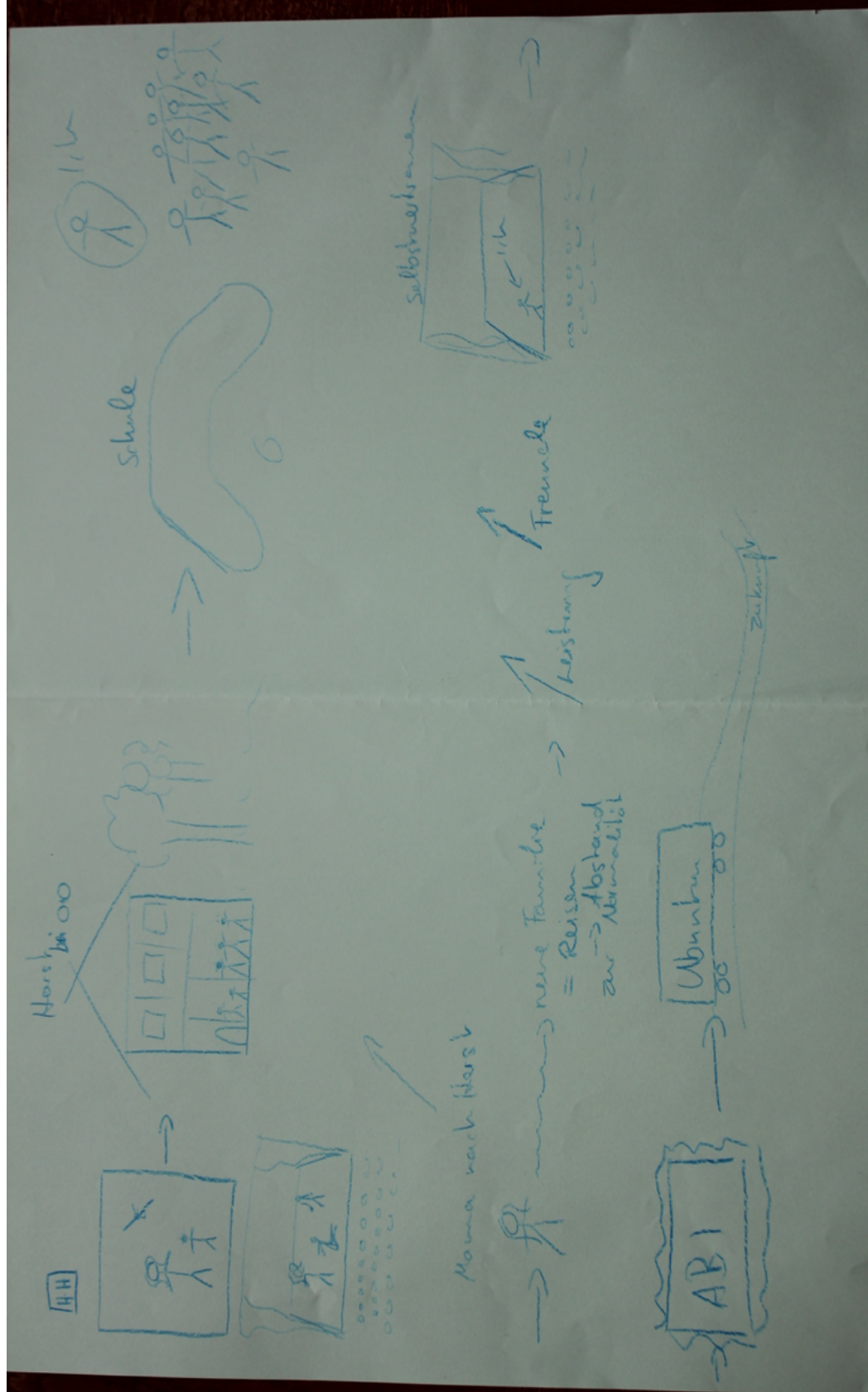


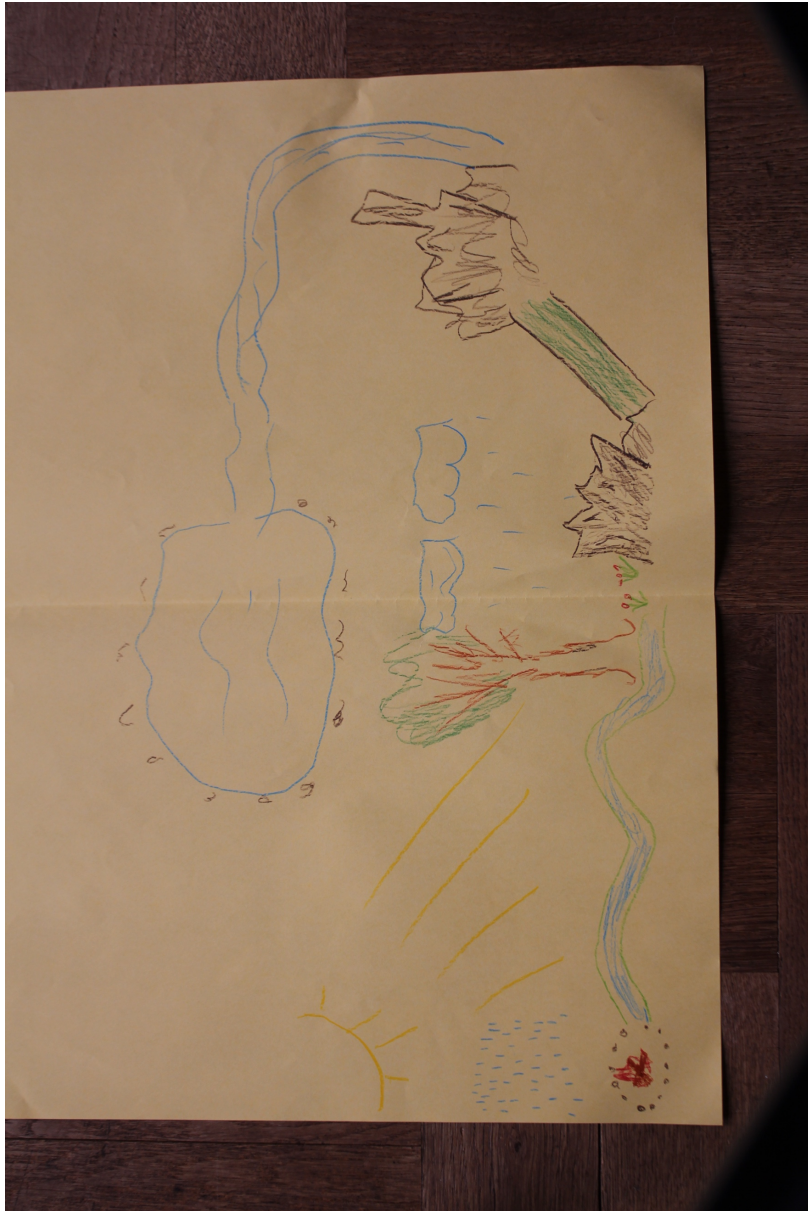












Appendix 7. Examples of graphics one and two

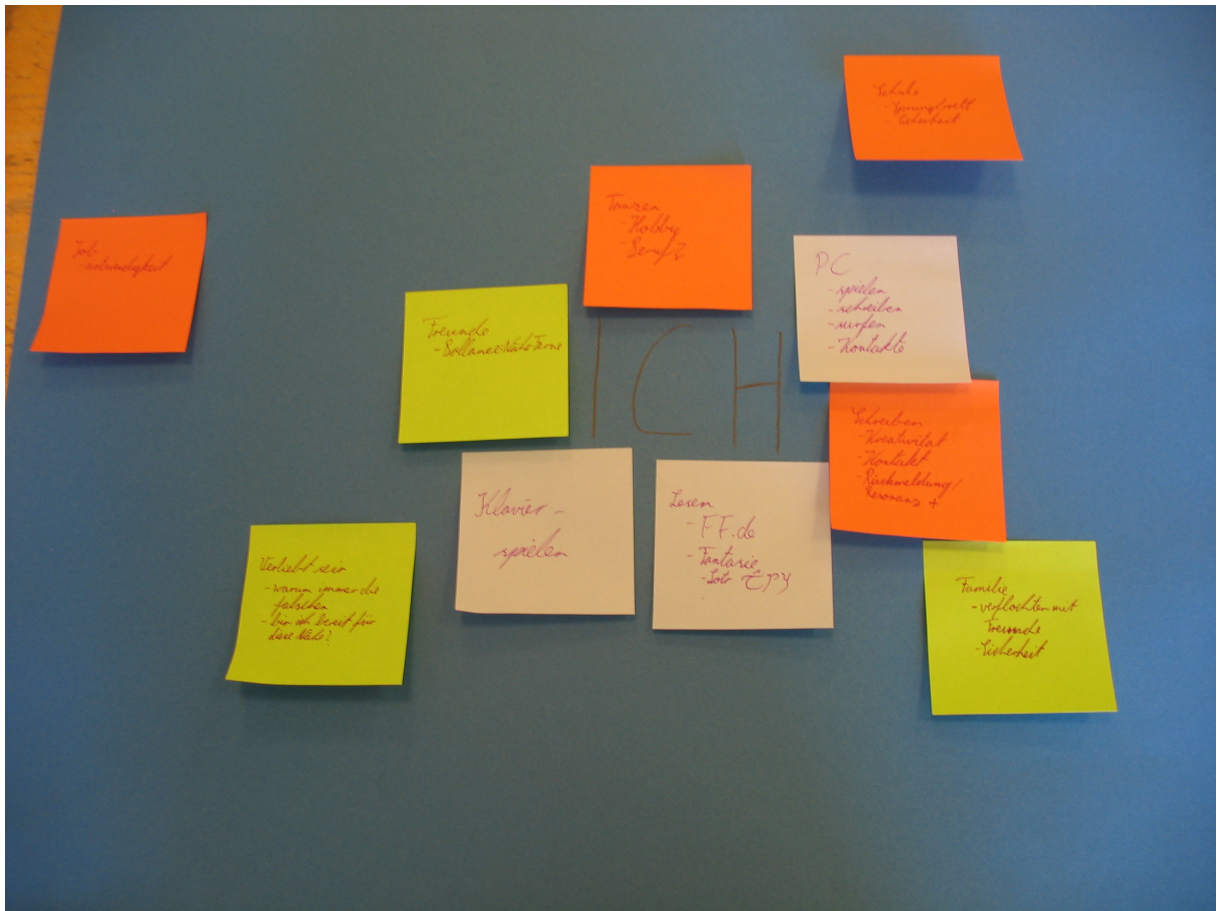
(Some of the images have been trimmed to remove the participant's name, which was written on a card placed on the sheet)



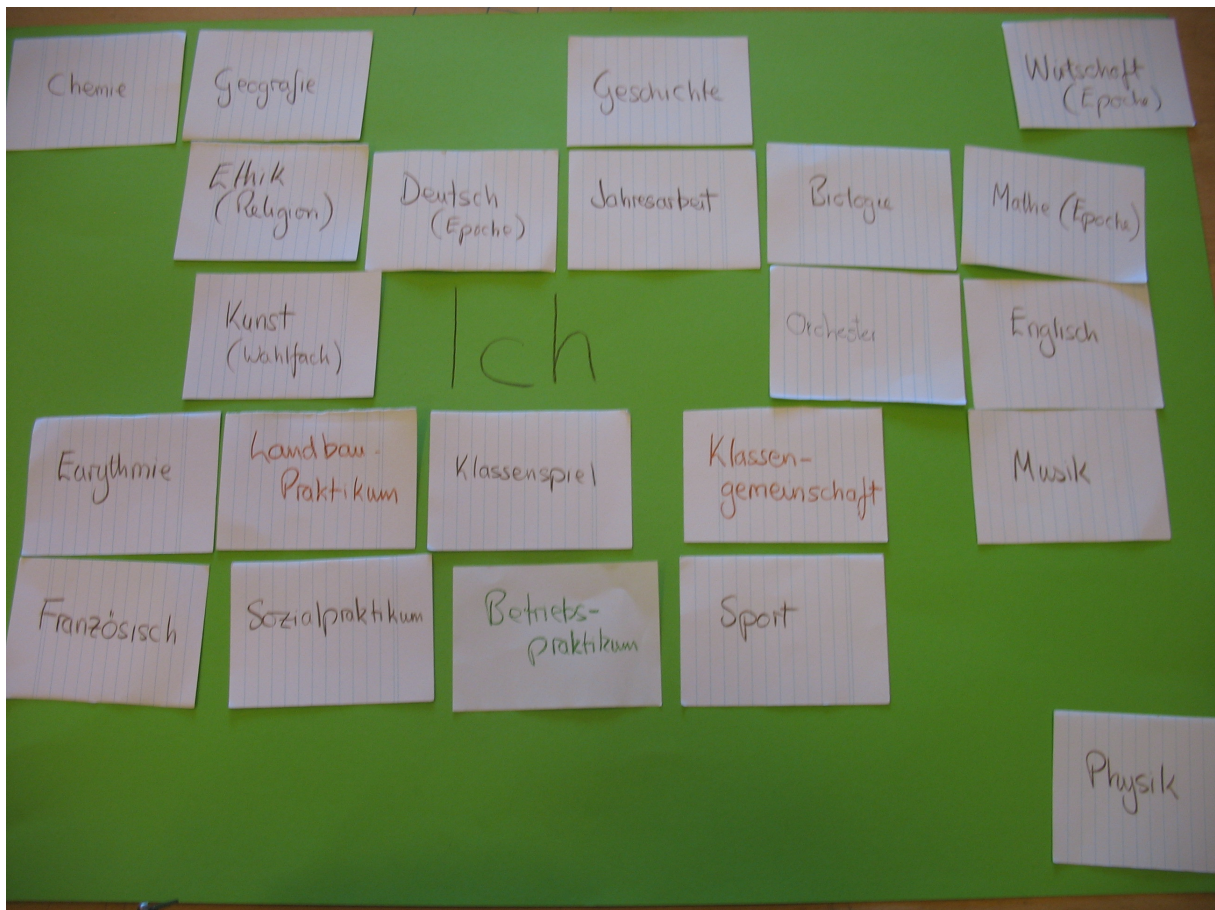
Graphic 1 is a response to the question: what thing in your life are important for your personal development?



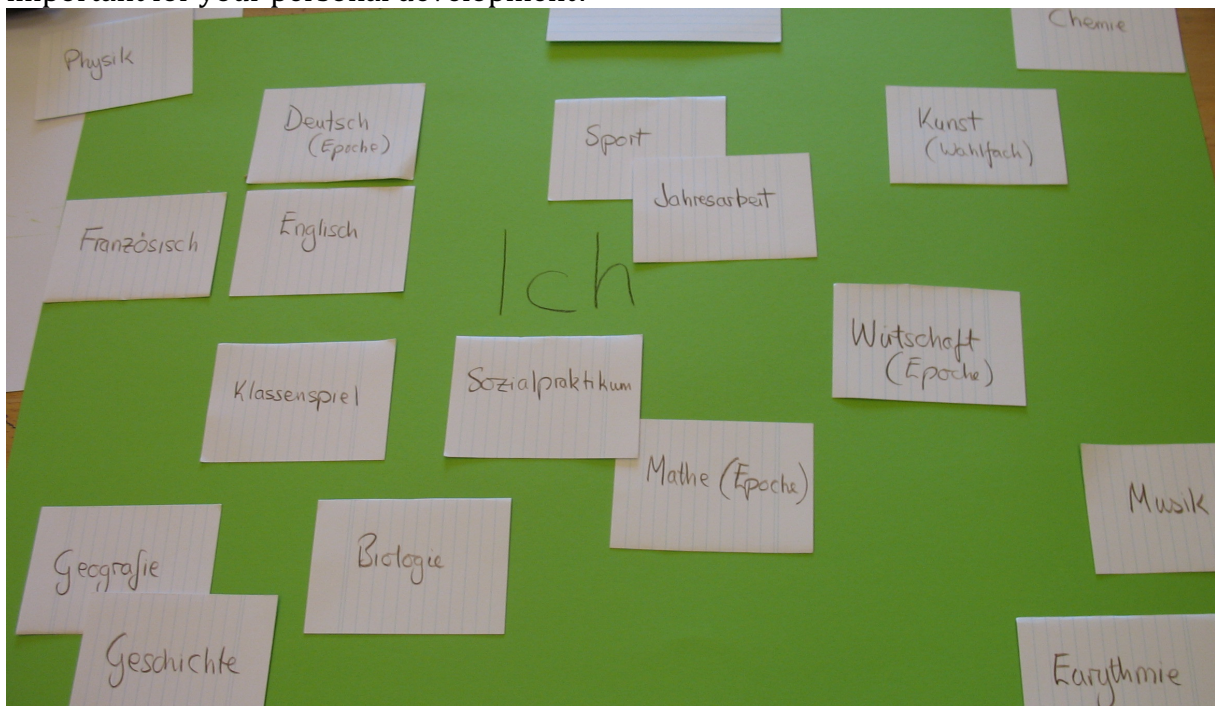
second example of graphic 1



third example of graphic 1



Graphic 2 is a response to the question: “what school-related learning situations were important for your personal development?”



Appendix 8 Three examples of transcripts of the interviews, natural meanings and the analysis into themes. The data sets are from Nr.3 Per, Nr. 6 Maybritt and Nr.12 Celina

Transcript No 3.	Natural meaning units	Exploratory notes (normal text) <i>Linguistic notes: italics</i>	Emergent themes
<p>I: Sie haben jetzt ihren Lebensweg gemalt – bzw. sie malen noch daran. Können sie mir dieses Bild etwas erläutern? Was sind die wichtigen Stationen in ihrem bisherigen Leben?</p> <p>R: Also erst mal die Geburt, das ist so der Start. Und dann sind auf jeden Fall die wichtigen Abstufungen, die ich hier hab: Umzüge – also wichtige ähm, große Schritte, wo sich ja auch immer von der sozialen Umgebung also auch immer was geändert hat. Also das erste war nicht so – da war ich noch sehr jung, also 2 oder 2 Jahre also – also von daher nicht so die große Bedeutung. Dann danach hab ich so den größten meiner Kindheit – also meiner frühen Kindheit, bis ich 4 oder 5 war – in einem Haus verbracht – und halt auch viele Erinnerungen: vor allem – deswegen hab ich hier auch die Blätter hingemalt – da war ein großer Garten und den ganzen Tag im Garten getollt. Dann wieder ein Umzug, der dann – also das ich danach in Kindergarten kam – also das viele Kontakte dazu kamen, (Geräusche im Hintergrund) - ja die Kinder im Kindergarten und dann auch die Einschulung. Dann ein nächster Umzug, der aber nicht so wesentlich ist, weil das räumlich jetzt keinen Unterschied gemacht hat – genauso wie hier der folgende. Dann irgendwann 2.Klasse oder so – ist dann Klarinette dazu gekommen. Das ist ein wichtiger Schritt, weil dann mein ...quasi meine“ zweite Lebenslinie“ – poetisch ausgedrückt – beginnt. Und</p>	<p>Question: You have drawn your life path, can you tell me about what you have drawn. What were the most important stations on your life path?</p> <p>He starts with his birth (slightly ironical tone). These are the most significant steps. Moving house is important because the social environment always changes. He was very young (2 or 3 years old) during the first move- therefore it was not so important. This was followed by a large part of his younger childhood (up until 5years), when they lived in a house with a large garden (symbolised by the leaves). They played all day in the garden.</p> <p>Then followed the next move- he goes to kindergarten and thus came into contact with more children. This was followed by entry to school.</p> <p>Then another move, that was not so significant because it didn't take him to a new place.</p> <p>Then in class 2 he started playing the clarinet. That was an important step and his second 'life line' – to</p>	<p>Starts with birth <i>Abstufungen-(literally steps down from a higher position)</i></p> <p>Happy memories of play Memories of a garden as play space Analytical memory-significance of place and meaning of moving to a new place</p> <p>Leaves as symbols</p> <p>He distinguishes two life lines- his outer life and his biographical development relating to his identity as a musician</p> <p>The circus was a significant change of environment</p> <p>Ubuntu is a circus community care project for youth with emotional, behavioural, school refusers, eating disorders and similar problems. Young people from the local community can join in a summer school programme and tour. 03 played in the band). The close, supportive community life, rehearsals, training and being on tour are an intensive experience.</p> <p>Girlfriend</p>	<p><u>Awareness of changes of social and natural environment as important for him</u></p> <p><u>He analyses significance of place in his biography</u></p> <p><u>He has two lifelines, an outer and a personal/biographical</u></p> <p><u>Uses symbols (leaves)</u></p> <p><u>Music enters his life as a second life-path</u></p> <p><u>His social life expands beyond family and school</u></p> <p><u>The lifeline divides</u></p> <p><u>He recognises the circus school as an important emotional learning experience</u></p>

<p>dann irgendwann Saxophon dazu, ja... dann hab ich hier äh, so'n bisschen aufgespalten, weil sich die sozialen Kontakte mehren, auch von außerhalb der Schule - das sollte das so'n bisschen darstellen.</p> <p>Dann bin ich beim Circus Ubuntu mitgefahren, was ich jetzt im Nachhinein – mit 16 war das – als eine der wichtigsten Stationen... einfach weil das einfach noch mal ne ganz anderer Art von Leben und so war, die davor noch nicht kannte – und auch sehr, sehr viel neue Kontakte unter anderem auch, ja ne Freundin und so weiter... Dann Musik ist weiterhin sehr wichtig.</p> <p>Dann bin ich ein 2.Mal mitgefahren – das hatte auch wieder neue Kontakte zur Folge.</p> <p>Jetzt kommt noch nen drittes hier Zukunft kann man noch dazu malen, jetzt nächsten Monat – ja das jetzt waren so die wichtigsten Stationen.</p>	<p>express it poetically-starts.</p> <p>saxophone. The line divides more to represent more social contact, beyond family and school.</p> <p>Then he arrived at Circus Ubuntu at the age of 16. This was one of the most important stations because that was a very different the hadn't known before. He now has even more social contact and a girlfriend. Music remains important. He was with the circus for two years (two summer tours) and will be on tour again this summer.</p>		
<p>I: Und wie sieht dieser Weg in die Zukunft aus? Haben sie da Ideen oder Pläne.</p> <p>R: Ja, erst mal Musik – ich hab das hier jetzt so'n bisschen aufspaltend gemacht, weil ich nicht weiß inwiefern, also mit welchem Ziel – also ob jetzt Musiklehrer oder selbstständiger Musiklehrer oder Instrumentallehrer oder vielleicht so äh, Karriere als Komponist – eher unwahrscheinlich, deswegen ein paar Sterne dahinter. Also irgendwie so was, aber noch relativ unsicher – wobei halt irgendwas mir Musik schon dabei sein wird, deswegen ja...</p> <p>I: Und gibt es unmittelbare Pläne für jetzt nach der Schule?</p>	<p>Question: what future plans do you have?</p> <p>First of all music. (he points to the narrative drawing again). The line is bit divided because he doesn't know at present what his goal is, whether to become a school music teacher, or self-employed music teachers, oder perhaps a career as composer. He adds (self-depreciating) that this seems unlikely, as indicated by the stars he has drawn ("if it is in the stars")</p> <p>At any rate the future is pretty uncertain, although it is clear that he will don something with music.</p>	<p>He is clear that his future will involve music. He is uncertain about the direction. Self-depreciating tone does not entirely hide his wish to be a composer.</p>	<p><u>Use of symbols (stars)</u></p> <p><u>aspiration (though details are vague)</u></p> <p><u>He hopes his destiny will make it possible to fulfil his wish</u></p> <p><u>Future plans: He has a clear plan to deepen his music skills and he has a number of projects.</u></p>

<p>R: Die hängen auch erst mal nur mit Musik zusammen. Also verschiedenen Projekte, die jetzt schon feststehen und erst mal das Ziel alles intensiver zu machen, also intensiver Instrumentalunterricht zu nehmen und auch intensiver Musik zu machen – mich darauf vorzubereiten, auf eine eventuelle Prüfung für'n Studium.</p>	<p>Question about his immediate plans after school</p> <p>That has to do with music. He has various projects. In general his intention is to practice his music more intensively, take instrumental lessons in order to prepare for the entrance exams (for music academy).</p>		
<p>I: Ok, danke. Sie sagen „Ubuntu“ war Ihnen wichtig! Können Sie dazu etwas sagen? Was ist „Ubuntu“ und warum war es für Sie wichtig?</p> <p>R: Ja, also das ist ja ein Kinder- und Jugendcircus, der von Januar bis Sommer – bis zum Sommer jeden Samstag trainiert, aber auch öfter länger – also über Pfingstwochenende z.B., in den Frühlingsferien, die Pfingst-Himmelfahrtswochenenden über intensiver - also quasi die gesamte Freizeit außerhalb der Schule wird da rein gesteckt. Und ich bin da spontan eingestiegen. Also ich kenne Ubuntu eigentlich schon seit die nach Horst gekommen sind, in 2000, aber mitgefahren sind nur meine Mutter und meine Schwester für zwei Tourneen, aber ich wollte mal mit aber durfte nicht, weil ich noch zu klein war. Und dann hab ich das irgendwann aus den Augen verloren und wurde dann 2010 gefragt, ob ich mit in der Band spielen möchte – auch relativ spontan – und hab</p>	<p>I: Thank you. You say that Ubuntu was important for you. Could you say something about that? What is Ubuntu and why was it important for you?</p> <p>R: Ubuntu is a circus for children and youth that train from January to the summer (every Saturday and often longer in the half-term holidays). It involves almost the entire free time outside of school. He got involved spontaneously. He has known Ubuntu since 2000 and travelled with his mother and older sister for two years. He wanted to participate but he was too young. Then he lost touch and met up again with them in 2010. Then he was asked in 2010 to join the band and he agreed- again spontaneously- and this was very much a new</p>	<p>The initial encounter with the circus school led to a connection many years later-</p> <p>Twice mentions spontaneous decisions in relation to important life decisions.</p> <p><i>The fascination of Ubuntu</i></p> <p>Fascinating is repeated- the word suggests a ability to</p>	<p><u>Awareness of biographical connection over time</u></p> <p><u>Circus experience more meaningful /real than school</u></p> <p><u>He is aware of the significance of spontaneous decisions in his biography</u></p> <p><u>important biographically</u></p> <p><u>He has taken on new responsibility</u></p> <p><u>Awareness of the difficulties within the adult community (new awareness and maturity)</u></p>

<p>dann auch zugesagt und das war einfach was ganz neues. Erst mal weil... - ich weiß nicht, das ist schwer zu beschreiben, aber bei Ubuntu ist äh, vor allem die Gemeinschaft anders als man das hier in der Schule kennt... also viel offener, viel ehrlicher vom Gefühl her, also mh ja... das war erst mal einfach anders.</p> <p>Und dann das Gefühl für 4 Wochen lang dann in den Sommerferien unterwegs zu sein, einfach in einem Circuswagen zu schlafen, alle drei Tage das Zelt auf- und abzubauen, auch körperlich schwer zu arbeiten. Dann immer weite Strecken auch zu reisen und jeden Tag vier fünf Stunden Musik machen, das ist halt das andere. Dann hab ich unglaublich viele Leute kennengelernt, die auch alle ähnlich kreativ sind, wie ich – kann man vielleicht sagen - und nicht auf die Art und Weise wie ich vielleicht andere erlebe. Also niemand da hat gesteigertes Interesse an Computerspielen oder sonstiges, ja.</p>	<p>experience. It is hard to describe what is that was so different- but Ubuntu is above all a community that is different to the community in school- much more open, more honest in terms of feelings- it was simply different.</p> <p>“And then the experience of simply travelling for 4 weeks in the summer holidays in the circus community, sleeping in circus wagons, putting the tent up every three days, hard physical work. Then travelling long distances and every day four five hours of playing music, that is just different. Then I met an incredible number of people, who are all similarly creative- one can perhaps say- and not all in the way I have experienced others. I mean, no one had intense experiences with computer games or such things.</p>	<p>stand back and be fascinated by events- fascination is interest with reflective awareness</p>	<p><u>Anticipation of learning- imagination of will</u></p> <p><u>Reflective awareness</u></p>
<p>Dann hab ich meine Freundin kennengelernt – also meine Exfreundin – und das ist natürlich auch immer wichtig, so die erste Freundin. Ähm, ja ich weiß gar nicht – die Faszination von Ubuntu ist danach nie wieder weggegangen. Deswegen bin ich dann nach drei Jahren noch mal spontan mitgefahren und jetzt ganz geplant und...</p>	<p>Then I got to know my girlfriend- that is my ex-girlfriend- and that is naturally always important- you know , the first girlfriend. Ah, yes I don't know- the fascination of the circus has never gone away. That's why the after three years I spontaneously joined the circus again – and now again- but planned.”</p>	<p>A description of the circus that is both idealistic and realistic</p>	<p><u>Wry self-awareness</u></p> <p><u>Each trip with Ubuntu is different- awareness of maturation</u></p> <p><u>Awareness of the difficulties in the community</u></p>
	<p>He comments on the significance of his first relationship with a girlfriend</p>		

<p>I: War es beim zweiten Mal anders? R: Ja, auf jeden Fall. Also es ist glaube ich bei jedem Mal anders. Aber was entscheidend war, dass beim 2. Mal der Altersunterschied größer war, weil weniger in meinem Alter tatsächlich mitfahren. Dann hatte ich beim 2. Mal Verantwortung, weil ich die Leitung der Band übernommen hab, ähm, und insgesamt war das für Ubuntu nen schwieriges Jahr... es gibt natürlich auch Höhen und Tiefen... also die Gemeinschaft hatte da, gerade bei den Erwachsenen Mitfahrern, also nicht ganz so schön funktioniert, wie in dem Jahr davor. Und jetzt dieses Jahr ist es wieder anders. Jetzt dieses Jahr ist die Verantwortung noch gesteigerter, weil auch die Kompositionen, die gespielt werden von mir kommen und weil das gemeinschaftlich glaube ich nen noch besseres Jahr wird, als das erste Jahr. Also dieses Jahr ist echt faszinierend! Ich freue mich da echt ziemlich drauf! Das ist ja auch die erste Station nach der Schule, direkt danach wieder 4 Wochen.... Ja, also es ist faszinierend, dass so ein Projekt so nen großen Einfluss haben kann. Aber ich denke eigentlich, dass so eine Erfahrung für jeden Jugendlichen, jedes Kind eigentlich ziemlich gut wäre – das kann man sich kaum vorstellen, ja!</p> <p>I: Ja, es ist schwer das in Worte zu fassen, aber was lernt man, wenn man in einer solchen Circus-Gemeinschaft mitwirkt? R: Also, ich glaube erst mal viele soziale Fähigkeiten einfach. Man sitzt 4 Wochen lang zusammen... - und auch das Gefühl, das alles was man selber macht jetzt einen Einfluss auf die Gemeinschaft hat, also man kann sich eigentlich nicht rausziehen. Und natürlich auf viel praktisches, also jede Menge</p>	<p>I. And how was it different the second time?</p> <p>R: the difference was mainly because of his age and being older, the second time he was older than most of the other participants. He had responsibility and leadership duties- he was responsible for the band- and it was overall a difficult year for the circus- there are naturally highs and lows- the community, especially the adults who accompany the trip- well, that didn't function very well, unlike the year before. But each year is different, this year is also different. This year his level of responsibility has increased because he now composing the music</p> <p>He thinks this will be a better year. This year is even more fascinating. He is really looking forward to it.</p> <p>“This is the first station after leaving school, directly four weeks after leaving” It is fascinating that such a project can have such an influence for young people- it is something that would be good for every young person or child- one can hardly imagine (such a thing being possible)</p> <p>I: Yes, it is difficult to put into words- but what does one learn in such a circus community?</p> <p>R: Firstly, simply many social abilities. For four weeks one has the</p>	<p>Awareness of difference in the community- especially among the adults- he seems to being polite about the difficulties</p> <p>Awareness of biographical significance for him</p> <p>Awareness of value of circus for children and young people</p>	<p><u>Biographical awareness of the circus experience for others (children and young people)</u></p> <p><u>Social agency: awareness of social skills, understanding and engaging with the other (empathically), dealing with issues as they arise</u></p>
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<p>praktische Fähigkeiten – so was Handwerkliches oder Musikalisches jetzt in meinem Fall oder jetzt Artistisches – ich kann jetzt auch jonglieren; mehr oder weniger (lacht). Aber ich glaub das Wesentlich ist schon das Gefühl für einander zu entwickeln, weil man sich ja kaum ausweichen kann oder auch nicht ausweichen soll und nicht irgendwie in sein Handy flüchtet und nicht irgendwie sms schreibt und nach Möglichkeit auch niemanden zuhause anruft, also sondern alle Probleme dann auch unmittelbar bearbeitet, die auftreten und so...</p>	<p>feeling that everything that one does has an influence on the community. One can't actually take oneself out of the situation. Also many practical things and practical skills (are learned) – craft skills/manual skills or musical skills or in his case artistic skills. He can juggle (more or less) [<i>self-depreciating laughter</i>].</p> <p>He believes that the essential thing is already developing the feeling for each other, because one can hardly avoid and shouldn't avoid (the experience of the other). One can't escape the situation by using your mobile phone and sending text messages (to others not present). You can't call home- rather all problems have to be solved there and then in the situation as soon as they occur.</p>		
<p>I: Ja, ok danke! Jetzt würde ich gerne ein bisschen auf die Schulereignisse gucken. Zunächst einmal das Sozialpraktikum. Wo waren sie da und was haben sie dabei erlebt?</p> <p>R: Ich war in der Kindertagesstätte „Die Burg“ in ähm - und zwar ist die hier in Elmshorn. Das ist ne</p>	<p>I: Returning to the experiences at school- in particular the social practical. Where were you and what did you experience?</p> <p>R: He was in a child care unit for social disadvantaged children</p>	<p>(<i>unbehüteter = unprotected, exposed, vulnerable</i>)</p>	<p><u>Uses his portfolio as reflection (even 3 years later)</u></p>

<p>Kindertagesstätte für äh, ja sozialbenachteiligte Kinder in Hainholz. Also ähm da werden eigentlich so die Grundschüler, die ähm –also werden die glaube ich auch aktiv gesucht, so Kinder die sonst so auf der Straßen rumspielen würden, weil die Eltern nicht zuhause sind und denen wird halt angeboten, dass die da dann ihre Hausaufgaben auch machen können und den Nachmittag verbringen, damit das alles einfach so’n bisschen geregelter ist.</p> <p>Und ich hab auch vorhin noch mal meine Mappe durchgelesen... also für mich war das ähm - das erste, was halt wirklich beeindruckend war, war halt dass das einfach komplett anders war – also das ist halt wirklich ne andere Gesellschaftsschicht, als ich das vorher kannte. Auch die Einrichtung ist in so ner ganz kleinen Wohnung im Wohnblock und nicht so, wie jetzt der Waldorfkindergarten, sondern einfach so gespendete Spielzeuge, Spielsachen und so. Und auch erst mal – das hab ich auch gelesen – auch der Umgangston hat mich auch erst mal erschreckt und auch so, wie die Kinder waren. Die sind halt – die wirken auch deutlich <u>unbehüteter</u> und wilder und so.</p> <p>Aber – wie ich gelesen hab und wie ich mich jetzt auch noch dran erinnere – war es auf jeden Fall ne sehr, sehr wichtige Erfahrung, so ähm – einmal zu sehen, dass es auch anders sein kann. Und auch so besondere Ereignisse, wo Kinder so von Ausflügen erzählt haben, die sie seit Ewigkeiten machen wollen, aber der Vater hat nie Geld irgendwie ans Meer zu fahren oder so was. Und natürlich auch noch andere Schicksale von Kindern, die dann auch zuhause Missbrauch erfahren und so was.</p> <p>Und was auch noch ein Aspekt war, war dass die zwei Sozialarbeiter eingestellt hatten und der eine von den</p>	<p>of primary school age [<u>in a estate in the city with many social challenges</u>]. These children are identified and brought to the centre otherwise they would be alone on the streets because their parents are not at home. There they are offered support with homework and given a meal so that every is a bit more ordered. <u>He read through his portfolio of the social practical</u>. This reminded him that this was the first time to really experienced that there were completely different life circumstances and social situations (to those he was familiar with). The centre was a very small apartment in a housing block. It was not like a Waldorf kindergarten. There were only simple toys that had been donated. He read in his own reflection that he was shocked at the time by the way people spoke to each other, and he was shocked how the children were. They seemed to him to be significantly less sheltered or cared for and they were wilder (less well-behaved). From what he read in his reflection and what he recalls this was a very important experience for him to see that life can be very different. Particular experiences stay with him, such as children talking of outings to the seaside that had been promised but not fulfilled because the parents had no money. Also he experienced children who had been abused at home. Another aspect was that two social [<u>presumably care</u>]</p>	<p>in preparation he read through his own portfolio of the work placement- led to a new realization</p> <p>Re-reading reminds him that was shocked at the time by how people spoke to the children</p> <p>Recalls that this was an important experience for him biographically</p> <p>Empathy for the disappointment of the children</p>	<p><u>Emergent transformative awareness of social difference.</u></p> <p><u>Empathy</u></p> <p><u>New perspective on his own life circumstances and those of others: biographical awareness</u></p> <p><u>Shock but non-judgemental tone-empathic understanding of other life situations.</u></p> <p><u>Biographical interest in the other</u></p>
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<p>beiden, der hatte sich überraschender Weise ziemlich schnell total geöffnet mir gegenüber; hat halt ganz viel erzählt. Der war drogenabhängig gewesen, auch kriminell und sogar im Gefängnis gewesen und so, aber hat mir dann immer erzählt, dass er jetzt halt alles geändert hat und so und dass er nur noch kiffte und raucht, aber sonst nichts anderes mehr... also mit dem habe ich sehr, sehr viel geredet und solche Kontakte, ja, hatte ich davor halt noch nicht kennengelernt und das war sehr interessant – auch die Offenheit so, die er mir entgegengebracht hat!</p>	<p>workers were employed there, one of whom surprisingly and quickly completely opened him/herself to 03 and spoke of his/her criminal background, time in jail and drug addiction. This person now claimed that everything was changed and that he only smoked and used hash (<i>rather than hard drugs</i>). 03 had never met a person with a lifestory and found it interesting and remarkable that he would be taken into the person's confidence.</p>		
<p>I: Haben sie während des Praktikums ein Tagebuch geführt? R: Ja, aber das war eigentlich immer relativ gleich, also es gab wenn dann nur besondere Ereignisse, das weiß ich aber nicht genau, aber ansonsten war der Tagesablauf immer relativ...</p> <p>I: Haben sie am Schluss dann auch noch eine Reflexion geschrieben? R: Ja, genau!</p> <p>I: Und was haben sie beim Schreiben dieser erlebt? Es geht mir dabei weniger um den Inhalt - den hatten sie bereits erwähnt – als vielmehr um den Schreibprozess. Wie wirkt es, wenn man nach einer solchen Erfahrung eine Reflexion schreiben muss/darf? R: Ja, ich glaube, was jetzt gerade bei dem wichtig oder besonders war, dass ich mit den Gedanken bei der Reflexion jetzt kaum so bei den erlernten Fähigkeiten oder so war... sondern hab bei andern Gedanken, die es zu</p>	<p>I: did you keep a journal during the social practical?</p> <p>Yes but it was much the same R: yes but the same things occurred everyday(every day) except when particular events occurred. The daily routine was fairly constant.</p> <p>I: Did you write a reflection at the end of the practical?</p> <p>R: Yes indeed!</p> <p>I: What did you experience in the act of writing. I'm more interested in the writing process than the content as such- you've already talked about that. What does writing about such experiences in a reflection do to you- if you are allowed to or have to do this?</p> <p>R: In writing the reflection 03's thoughts were less concerned</p>	<p>He's already referred to his journal and reflection but I want to draw this out more</p> <p>(repetitive activities)</p> <p>I sense his willingness to talk about the reflection process- so pursue this (adding a clumsy option- whether he may or has to write a reflection- too many levels of question!)</p> <p>In his journal/reflection he didn't write about skills he learned but things that made a</p>	<p><u>Awareness of positioning by others (prejudice)</u></p>

<p>reflektieren galt, glaub ich, halt auch das Erleben als Waldorfschüler, da wirklich auf Vorurteile zu treffen und so, auch ziemlich krass und so...</p> <p>Aber ansonsten... - das ist schon lange her, ich weiß es nicht mehr genau -manchmal schreibt man ja so'n Ordner auch und muss dann ne Reflexion schreiben und probiert dann irgendwie so zu schreiben, was man da dann so schreibt, aber ich weiß es nicht mehr...</p> <p>I: Finden sie, dass eine solche Reflexion eine sinnvolle Aufgabe ist?</p> <p>R: Ja, also ich glaube, dass man sich eh so ohne – man macht ohnehin Gedanken rückblickend, was jetzt wichtig war und wenn man das einmal ausformuliert ist das glaube ich schon sinnvoll, dass man sich das auch einmal vor Augen führt – ich denk das ist ja auch ein bisschen der Sinn, dass man sich einmal wirklich klar macht, was jetzt die drei Wochen für mich bedeutet haben – also „was hab ich erlebt?“ und so... ja!</p>	<p>with what skills were acquired or learned but other thoughts came that caused him to reflect. One example was his experience that Waldorf students meet some fairly crass prejudices (against them). It is hard now to recall what he thought at the time. He says one writes what one usually writes when doing a reflection.</p> <p>I: Do you find this kind of reflection is a meaningful task?</p> <p>R: He suggests that one anyway reflects on what was important in such situations. It is meaningful to formulate this (in writing). It enables one to draw out (emphasize, represent) what one has experienced. Yes it is meaningful.</p>	<p>personal impact such as experiencing prejudice.</p> <p>Highlights that the act of writing reifies experience</p>	<p><u>A formal, written reflection is meaningful to highlight or make clear what one has experienced (and thus learned)</u></p>
<p>I: Gut, kommen wir zum Klassenspiel. Haben sie dabei etwas Besonderes erlebt?</p> <p>R: Ja, war einfach – für mich war das Spaß pur eigentlich! Also, das ähm, das würde ich auch sofort noch mal machen, wenn ich die Möglichkeit hätte (lacht). Ja, was ich an solchen Stellen immer erlebe, ist dass ich mir immer sehr, sehr viel Arbeit aufhäufe, aber das brauch ich auch, das hab ich da ja auch geschafft. Ja, aber wir kommen wahrscheinlich gleich noch zu. Ich war halt fast in jeder Arbeitsgruppe, aber dass... dass dann auch das was ich da auch möchte, einfach da dann auch aktiv sein und so. Ähm,...</p> <p>I: Was meinen sie, lernt man bei solch einem Klassenspiel?</p>	<p>I: Good, lets come to the class play (as indicated in the graphic), what particular experiences were there during the class play?</p> <p>That is easy to answer- it was pure enjoyment! He would do this again immediately if he had the chance (<i>laughter</i>). What he always experiences in such situations is that he takes on a great deal of work. He needs this in order to have a sense of achievement. He was involved in all aspects of the class play. He enjoys being active.</p>	<p>All aspects of the class play are taken on by the students, with the teachers in support.</p> <p><i>“was ich an solchen Stellen immer erlebe” what I also experience in such situations</i></p> <p>He knows himself- and can be slightly self-mocking about it</p>	<p><u>Self-knowledge (touch of irony)</u></p> <p><u>He likes taking active responsibility for tasks.</u></p>

<p>R: Also ich habe jetzt erst mal gelernt, Hemmungen abzuliegen – also das war ganz wichtig für mich...</p> <p>I: Sie meinen als Schauspieler auf der Bühne? R: Ja, genau. Und ich hatte mir ja auch die extreme Rolle gesucht, weil ich halt eigentlich davor schon wusste, dass auch schwierig... also Schwierigkeiten damit hatte, gerade auch irgendwie mich zu bewegen vor andern oder so. Deshalb hab ich gedacht, das ist ja ne Herausforderung und dann hatte ich aber auch einfach Bock drauf, was schrilles zu spielen so und ja, das war dann natürlich auch mit das wichtigste da erst mal so'n bisschen aus sich heraus zu kommen – ähm, ist halt spannender irgendwie, als sich selber zu spielen, jetzt zum Beispiel. Ähm und ansonsten... (pause) ja, was halt auch immer wieder auffällt –gerade wenn man dann auch ein bisschen... wenn man sich engagiert und so – dann ist es halt so, dass man manchmal so gegen die Trägheit ankämpfen muss, halt von anderen - das erinnere ich noch recht gut. Und dass halt bei Choreo... also bei dem Erlernen von Choreografien und so, das halt echt schwierig war, wenn man dann auch mal die Seite wechselt und dann vor den andern steht und dann rumpöbeln muss und so, dass jetzt auch mal alle mitmachen – das war auch recht dominant, das es da immer ein paar gab, die keine Lust auf Tanzen und so was hatte...ja.</p>	<p>I: What do you think is learned during a class play?</p> <p>R: He learned for the first time to overcome his inner inhibitions and this was important for him.</p> <p>I: do you mean as an actor on stage?</p> <p>R: Yes exactly. He chose an extreme role that involved movement (dancing), something he had always been difficult for him. That is why he specifically chose that challenge. He just wanted to take on a shrill/loud role [implying out of character, untypical for him]. That was one of the most important things he learned, to come out of himself. It is more exciting/challenging not to play yourself. (pause) What also occurred to him is that when one is really motivated one has to deal with the lack of motivation in others. He recalls that in situations, such as the choreography, which was particularly challenging, it was hard because there were always a few who didn't want to dance.</p>	<p>More wry self-awareness</p> <p>Awareness of importance of not just playing yourself</p>	<p><u>Agency: overcoming his own inhibitions</u></p> <p><u>taking on the challenge of overcoming his own limitations (dancing, being extrovert)</u></p> <p><u>Agency: overcome fear of performing in front of others</u></p> <p><u>Willingness and ability to take on another role- be someone else</u></p> <p><u>Ability to maintain his motivation even when others were not so motivated</u></p>
<p>I: Und wie sieht es aus mit der Jahresarbeit? Was haben sie gemacht und was haben sie dabei erlebt? R: Ich habe einen Film gedreht oder nen Kurzfilm gedreht. Ja das war nicht, das Hauptthema – da wollte ich mich mit Film beschäftigen, aber dafür musste ich mich ja erst mal mit 'ner Geschichte beschäftigen.</p>	<p>I: What about the independent project? What did you do and what did you experienced doing it?</p>		

<p>Das war schon mal das erste, wo ich halt erleben musste, dass man halt ohne irgendeine , äh, Inspiration – also wenn man versucht sich auf Zwang irgend ne Geschichte auszudenken; das funktioniert halt nicht sonderlich gut. Da war ich dann auch nicht so recht zufrieden.</p> <p>I: Haben sie mit der Idee „Film“ angefangen oder mit einer inhaltlichen Idee?</p> <p>R: Nee, ich hab mit „Film“ angefangen und die brauchte nur noch nen Inhalt und auch Schauspieler und so was. Und ähm, ja insgesamt hab ich mich da – vielleicht auch aufgrund von andern Tätigkeiten – da nicht so heftig mit beschäftigt. Also ich bin jetzt schon zufrieden im Endeffekt mit dem Resultat, aber es hätte noch ganz anders sein können und ja, man muss – ich hab erst mal erlebt, dass so der „Größenwahn“, der da immer erst mal kommt – dass man sich so dies vornimmt und das vornimmt – und dass sich das dann relativ schnell, ähm, alles reduziert.</p> <p>Das war, glaube ich, auch bei meinem Projekt extrem, weil ich halt erst noch professionelles Equipment mieten wollte - dann scheiterte es irgendwie an den finanziellen Mitteln. Dann irgendwelche spektakulären Szenen denkt man sich aus und dann merkt man, oh, man kann das gar nicht inszenieren oder Plätze, da kommt man dann nicht ran und so – das war ganz dominant, dass ich mich dann, dann im Endeffekt doch auf relativ einfache Sachen beschränkt hab. Und die größte Zeit – also die hauptsächliche Arbeit, die mir dann auch richtig Spaß gemacht hat, dann am PC halt gemacht hab; so das Schneiden und so das Gestalterische, ja!</p> <p>I: Und wie war das Ergebnis?</p> <p>R: Es ist nicht schlecht. Das Schauspiel ist ähm– jetzt ohne die Schauspieler anzuprangern – das warn halt</p>	<p>He made a short film. Making the film was not supposed to be the main theme. First he had to find a story. That was the first thing he experienced- inspiration. He discovered that you can't force yourself to create a story. That doesn't work. He wasn't pleased with the results of that process.</p> <p>I: Did you start with the idea of making a film or did you start with a specific idea for the content?</p> <p>R: He started with film, then he needed a content and actors. He reflects (thoughtfully) that due to his other activities he didn't engage with the project sufficiently. In the end he was satisfied with the outcome but it could have been quite different. He firstly experienced what it is like to be 'megalomaniac'- that feeling comes first, when one takes on so much. This then relatively quickly gets reduced. This experience (of having grand ideas that have to be relativised) was extreme in the case of this project. Firstly he realised that he had to hire professional equipment and that failed because he didn't have the financial means. Then the spectacular scenes he had thought up were not possible in practice. This was the dominant experience. In the end he used relatively simple means. Then the main task that he really enjoyed was the work of editing on the computer</p>	<p>Awareness of his own limitations</p>	<p><u>Self-discovery about the nature of creativity</u></p> <p><u>Ability to learn from experience, to modify plans, make them more realistic.</u></p> <p><u>He shows self-critical ability and awareness of strengths and weaknesses of his film.</u></p>
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<p>Klassenkameraden und das ist auch unnormal natürlich, was... also das Schauspiel ist halt nicht ganz so schön anzusehen, aber ansonsten bin ich eigentlich ganz zufrieden damit.</p> <p>I: Warum war es schwierig mit Klassenkameraden?</p> <p>R: Ja, das sind halt keine professionellen Schauspieler und das ist einfach – es ist einfach was anderes als auf der Bühne zu stehen – das wirkt dann halt so „theatermäßig“ und im Film muss es halt einfach „echter“ sein. Aber das war gerade, wenn... - das war ein traumatischer Film eher und gerade wenn man so was inszeniert und jetzt auch keine Probenzeit oder so was hat, sich nicht näher da rein versetzt oder so, sondern einfach so steht und sagt: „jetzt raste mal aus!“, das ist dann einfach, weiß ich nicht, eher son bisschen satiremäßig irgendwie...</p> <p>Aber ansonsten - also der Film ist halt inhaltlich irgendwie ein bisschen unvollständig, weil verschiedenen Szenen halt gekürzt – äh, rausge... - äh, weil ich die immer streichen musste und so das ist jetzt eher so ne Art Trailer, aber ich war dann im Endeffekt doch zufrieden und die Resonanz war auch gut, also war schon...</p>	<p>because that involved creativity.</p> <p>I: how was the result?</p> <p>R: Not bad. Without wanting to criticise the actors, who were class mates, which is not normal for a film- the acting is not as good to watch as it should be. However, overall he is quite satisfied.</p> <p>Question: about the problem of working with class mates (as actors)</p> <p>It has to do with the fact that they are not professional actors. He compares acting on stage to acting in film. In film the acting has to be more realistic. The theme of the film was traumatic [drug addiction and suicide]. There was no time for rehearsals or getting into the part, especially for dramatic scenes, then it the outcome has a more satiric effect than was intended. The film narrative remains somewhat unfinished because it had to be shortened. He cut so many scenes that what has remained is more of a film trailer. In the end he was satisfied and the film had a positive resonance.</p>	<p>Again it seems that he had high, even professional expectations of the film. The project was a serious venture and he was interested in the response. Discusses the difference between theatre and film- realizes that one cannot rehearse to the same extent</p> <p>His comment about it not being natural to your class mates acting in your film shows he is treating the film as a real venture. <i>Anzuprangern= not just blame but expose them to sharp criticism</i></p>	
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<p>I: Und haben sie diesen Arbeitsprozess auch reflektiert? R: Das hab ich mir jetzt nicht mehr durchgelesen – ich weiß da jetzt gerade nicht mehr genau...</p> <p>I: Haben sie diese Reflexion jetzt mit dabei? (Pause , Rascheln) R: Ja! Oh! (der Schüler liest vor:) „Wie in dem Rückblick auf meine Erwartungen bereits deutlich geworden sein dürfte, bin ich mit dem gedrehten Film nicht zufrieden.“ (Schüler liest leise weiter und fasst dann zusammen:) der Hauptgrund dafür ist, dass er zu kurz ausgefallen ist – also einfach das ich unzufrieden damit war, dass ich – ähm- viel kürzen musste und es halt nicht das geworden ist, was ich mir am Anfang vorgestellt hatte. Und dann seh ich hier noch „Problem in der Menge der beteiligten Menschen!“.</p> <p>I: Haben sie gerade so überrascht reagiert, weil ihre Reflexion hier vor 2 Minuten anders war, als das, was sie damals geschrieben haben? R: Ja, das stimmt. Allerdings kann ich mir auch vorstellen, dass ich da auch son sehr kritischen Ton mit reinnehmen wollte, dass ich da... - gerade die Zeit als ich das geschrieben hab, war das noch recht frisch, da kannte ich ja auch die Reaktion – ich hab dann die Resonanz nicht – vielleicht hat sich das dadurch son bisschen geändert... (lacht) Ja, aber was halt auch wirklich – das steht hier auch: „Je mehr Leute beteiligt sind, desto schwieriger ist es Termine zu finden!“ – so das war auch, weil man braucht einfach viele Leute. Ich kann noch mal schnell überfliegen... (kurze Pause) Ja, das mit den Szenen hatte ich gesagt, dass halt wirklich viel stark durchdacht und gut vorbereitete Szenen dann doch weggelassen wurden. Ähm, ja und ich hatte als auch probiert, möglichst viele Genre darin zu</p>	<p>I: And have you also reflected on this work process?</p> <p>R: He hasn't read through the written reflection recently.</p> <p>I: Have you got the trxt there?</p> <p>(pause searching through his portfolio) R: Yes! Oh! (Reading from the text of his written reflection:) “As already described in my review of my expectations, I am not satisfied with the film I made” (then he reads through the text silently and then summarizes) The main reason for his dissatisfaction was that the film turned out much shorter than planned, because he had to make cuts. Also the number of people involved was a problem.</p> <p>I: Did you react so surprised because the reflection that you wrote at the time is different to what you said two minures ago?</p> <p>R: He agrees that there is a disparity. However he says he can imagine that his tone was much more critical at the time because the experience was still fresh and he wrote it before he had experienced the resonance from the public at the first showing. That may have altered his response (he laughs at that). He reads again that the main problem was making</p>	<p>He refers to his portfolio and responds to his own written reflection from 2 years ago, commenting on it</p> <p>Recalls the time point at which he wrote his reflection (before the film was shown)</p>	<p><u>He is able to re-interpret his own reflections from a year ago</u></p> <p><u>He notices the reflection before and after getting pubic resonance to his film</u></p>
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<p>vereinen – also ich wollt halt alles ein bisschen und da sind halt auch Sachen weggefallen, also ich hab jetzt keine Actionszene und so was - keine richtige Schiesserei, wie es gerne mal ausprobiert hätte zu machen, also ähm...</p> <p>I: Aber vermutlich haben sie sehr viel übers Filmemachen gelernt.</p> <p>R: Ja, das schon. Das war auch – so parallel zu Musik auch, kann man hier auch noch ne kleine Kamera hinmalen. Ich wollte es auch mal machen! Ich hab auch ganz viele Kurzfilme und so was gedreht und ich hab auch immer überlegt, ob ich vielleicht auch was mit Film mache, aber das hat sich son bisschen geändert oder jetzt kann man natürlich auch überlegen, ob man's kombiniert Filmmusik oder so was... (lacht)</p>	<p>appointments with all the people involved.- the people, the more difficult it is. (He reads on through his own text) He finds reference to the fact that some very well thought out scenes had to be cut. He recalls that he wanted to include scenes from all types of film-genre, action scenes and even one with shooting but these had to be left out (regretfully- but said with humour).</p> <p>I: I imagine you learned a lot about making films?</p> <p>R: He agrees. He refers to the original biographic drawing, saying that parallel to music he could have drawn a small camera. He tells me that he had made many short films with a small camera and had had ideas about making films. He is thinking about how music can accompany film. (he laughs and indicates that this topic is over).</p>		
<p>I: Ok, vielen Dank! Kommen wir jetzt noch einmal zum 2. Bild zurück, wo sie ihre gegenwärtige Position gemalt haben. Was fällt ihnen auf, wenn sie dieses Bild jetzt nach 30 Minuten noch mal anschauen?</p> <p>R: Also erst mal ganz nah dran ist für mich eben natürlich die Musik. Und da hab ich halt noch son bisschen ne Differenz zwischen meinen</p>	<p>I: Ok let's come back to the second drawing (positional graphic) in which you you're your current position- what occurs to you when you when you look at this picture 30 minutes later?</p> <p>R: Music is naturally closest to him. He makes a distinction between his</p>		<p><u>Strong sense of identity through music</u></p>

<p>beiden Hauptinstrumenten und dem Gebiet Komposition, weil das halt (pause) für mich wichtig ist, jetzt meine Art mich auszudrücken, sozusagen.</p> <p>Dann hab ich jetzt ganz nah dran, im Moment noch näher als Familie eigentlich, das Thema „Freunde“. Und das hab ich dann noch mal aufgesplittert. Das ist – also weiß ich nicht – das Thema „Gespräche“ wär da oder so - gute Gespräche und sich auszutauschen ist mir wichtiger als jetzt „Unternehmungen“ – wobei das halt auch wichtig ist und „Beschäftigung“ – einfach generell beschäftigt sein, Projekte und halt so was haben, ja.</p> <p>Dann verbunden mit Musik und so ist auch das „Erlernen von neuem“ mir halt sehr wichtig. Ich plane halt noch verschiedene Instrumente noch zu lernen und so was. Schlafen ist mir wichtig.</p> <p>I: Kommen sie auch dazu?</p> <p>R: Joa, jetzt im Moment gerade nicht so, aber wird wieder... (lacht)</p> <p>Ja, Sport hat natürlich noch – so als Ausgleich zu Musik, das braucht man dann ja, glaub ich, auch son bisschen, deswegen ist das für mich im Moment auch relativ wichtig.</p> <p>Dann meine aktuelle Freundin, die spielt im Moment auch grad ne große Rolle, weil das noch relativ frisch ist und Familie einfach. Aber das hab ich nen bisschen weiter weg gemacht, weil ich momentan grad kaum zuhause bin, von daher ist das aktuell nicht so das größte.</p> <p>Ubuntu ist eigentlich verbunden mit Musik vor allem, aber spielt auch jetzt im Moment ne große Rolle, weil ich halt auch gerade all meine Kapazitäten da reinstecke.</p> <p>Dann im Thema „Freunde“ sind halt auch noch so „alte und neue Kontakte“, aber auch vor allem alte Kontakte, die man ähm – ja, vorn paar Tagen erst hab ich nen paar alte</p>	<p>main two instruments (piano and clarinette/saxophone) and composing music. This is important because it's his way of exprsing himself.</p> <p>Second in closeness are his friends, who at this stage are closer than his family. He makes the point that good conversations/talking about things, exchanging views is more important than doing things such as projects- though these are also important.</p> <p>Being active/busy is important to him. Especially projects involving music. Equally important is learning from new experiences. He plans to learn to play new instruments. He adds that sleep is also important.</p> <p>I: Do you have time to (sleep)?</p> <p>R: He replies laughingly that just at the moment he doesn't have too much time for sleep. He adds that sport is important as a balance to music. His current girlfriend is also important in his life at the moment “she plays a big role at the moment, since the relationship is quite new (fresh)”. He adds family once more as important. He explains why the family is currently somewhat further away at the moment. This is because he is hardly at home. Ubuntu (circus) and music are currently more</p>	<p>Importance of talk(conversations)</p> <p>Learning new things is important</p> <p><i>Das Thema “Freunde”= the issue of friends and friendship important for him to maintain contact with old friends</i></p>	<p><u>He analyzes very clearly what is important in his life at the present: dialogue, discourse, learning and music.</u></p> <p><u>He shows a clear ability to position himself in relation to his interests and the people around him. He is thoughtful and takes a perspective over time.</u></p> <p><u>Clear biographical awareness</u></p>
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<p>Freunde wieder getroffen. Ich find das ist auch immer wieder wichtig, dass man - auch abgesehen von seinen Freunden, die man jeden Tag in der Schule trifft und so – so alte Kontakte und Freunde nicht aus den Augen verliert. Also das ist im Moment so das, was mir eingefallen ist.</p>	<p>important because he is investing all his capacity in this field. He returns to the theme of friends and comments that this involves maintaining old and new contacts, especially old contacts. He mentions that he recently met a couple of old friends and that is always important to keep touch with them alongside all the people he meets at school.</p>		
<p>I: Also bei meiner Studie interessiere ich mich für die Wirkung von informellem Lernen. Deshalb habe ich auch mehrmals nach der Reflektion gefragt. Wie genau erleben sie den Unterschied zwischen den formellen Unterrichtssituationen und dem informellen Lernen.</p> <p>R: Also ich weiß nicht, ob das die Frage so 100%-ig trifft, aber was mir jetzt spontan einfällt ist, dass gerade bei dem formellen Lernen, ob ich da was aufnehme oder nicht, hängt bei mir ganz stark mit dem Interesse zusammen, ob ich da Interesse für hab oder nicht. Zum Beispiel Mathematik oder so, kann ich mich einfach nicht für interessieren und dann fällt's mir auch schwer da was aufzunehmen. Und dann aber andererseits schwierige Sachen, die für andere für anderer vielleicht trocken sind, jetzt vielleicht Deutsch oder so was, da interessiere ich mich einfach für und dann lerne ich da auch. Aber das ist ja eigentlich alles formelles Lernen und ja ob ich damit dann wirklich lern, das hängt damit zusammen, ob ich mich dafür begeistern kann. Und ich glaube bei informellem Lernen so ist – äh, kann ich schneller – wenn nicht der Fokus auf dem Lernen selber liegt, sondern auf ner Tätigkeit, die dahinter steckt, dann begeistere ich</p>	<p>I: In my study I am interested in informal learning. That is why I have asked about reflection several times. How do experience the difference between informal and formal learning?</p> <p>R: He is not sure if his answer is 100% but his spontaneous thoughts are that what determines his learning, whether he takes something in or not, in either formal or informal situations is the extent to which he is interested. He gives as an example Maths, for which he cannot interest himself and then he finds it hard to take in what is being taught. On the other hand some difficult themes, such as those in German (mother tongue language and literature), that others may find dry, interest him a lot and then he also learns. Both are formal learning but whether he learns or not depends on whether he can be enthusiastic about the topic. In the case of informal learning, learning is faster because the focus is not on the learning itself but rather that activity that lies behind the situation,</p>	<p>I sense he will offer some insight so I ask him about formal and informal learning (only time in the interviews when I asked this directly). I ask what he thinks.</p> <p>He seems aware of learning processes and has an interesting theory. He seems to understand the primary purpose of formal teaching/learning situations such as maths or literature as learning specific contents or skills. Here the interest of the learner is crucial. Interest remains crucial to informal learning but it is the task or situation that is of interest and the learning is both secondary and occurs faster. Informal learning in his view is participation. This is a very comprehensive understanding of learning from someone who has (to my knowledge) never read about learning or been taught anything</p>	<p><u>He shows good understanding of learning, identifying the role of interest and distinguishing between outcome-driven learning and experience based learning.</u></p>

<p>mich da einfach für. Das ist auch das bei Ubuntu. Ich geh da ja nicht hin und sag: „ich möchte jetzt lernen sozial zu interagieren!“ oder so. Und dann fällt mir das leichter so das...</p>	<p>which he can be enthusiastic about. “ I believe that with informal learning, I can...er...learn faster because the focus is not on the learning itself but on the activity that lies behind it – then I am enthusiastic about it. That is the case with Ubuntu. I don’t go there and say, ‘ I want to learn to integrate myself socially now’ or so. And then the learning is easier for me...”</p>		
<p>I: Glauben sie, dass die Reflektion von informellem Lernen hilft, dieses bewusst zu machen? Ist die Reflektion eine Hilfe für das Lernen? R: (pause) Ja, vielleicht bis zu einem gewissen Grad. Also ich denk mal vieles hat man bis da ja schon aufgenommen, aber ja doch ich denk – doch ich denke eigentlich schon – doch das kann schon helfen, denke ich auch... Also ich denke es ist einfach vielleicht wichtig, dass man sich damit intensiv beschäftigt. Ob man das nun erzählt oder so – ähm, nach dem Praktikum seiner Mutter – oder ob man es jetzt wirklich aufschreibt, das ist vielleicht wichtig. Aber das es nicht einfach untergeht, dass man nicht zum nächsten übergeht oder sofort Alltag wieder, sondern dass man mal überlegt – ich glaub das ist schon wichtig. I: Ja, gut! Dann vielen Dank! R: Gerne!</p>	<p>I: Do you think that reflection helps with informal learning to make this conscious? Is reflection a help for learning?</p> <p>R: (after a pause) He agrees, to a certain extent. One has already taken in quite a lot (ie before reflection). Thinking about it, he added that he thought it does actually help. It is simply important that one engages with the (experience) intensively. Whether one tells somebody, such as your mother, about the work experience afterwards or whether one actually writes it down- that is perhaps important. It should not just get lost (go under/be forgotten) when we go back to our everyday life but rather that one reflects (ponders, thinks about it). That is important.</p> <p>I: Ok thank you very much R: you are welcome</p>	<p>Since he was so clear about learning I take the chance to ask his views on reflection. Here the conversational nature of the interview becomes clear. His answer was actually very helpful in focussing my thinking on learning and reflection. At the time of the interview I was still fairly unclear about this theoretically.</p>	<p><u>He thinks that narrative or written reflection is important for (informal) learning.</u></p>

Collation of themes

A. (reflective) Awareness of biographical processes/maturity/ch anging positions/ awareness of positioning	B. awareness of others/ empathy	C. Role of music in his life	D. Circus as learning field	E. Aspiratio n/ Imaginati on of will/ shaping his future	F. agency	G. Reflection/ learning	F. symb ols
<u>Wry self-awareness</u> <u>Awareness of changes on social and natural environment as important for him</u> <u>He analyses significance of place in his biography</u> <u>He has two lifelines, an outer and a personal/biographical</u> <u>Awareness of social context expanding from family to other children</u> <u>The lifeline divides</u> <u>Awareness of biographical structures</u> <u>His social life expands beyond family and school</u> <u>Awareness of biographical connection over time</u> <u>Each trip with Ubuntu is different- awareness of maturation</u> <u>He has taken on new responsibility</u>	<u>Wry self- awareness</u> <u>Awareness of the difficulties in the community</u> <u>Biographic al awareness of the circus experience for others (children and young people)</u> <u>Social agency: awareness of social skills, understandi ng and engaging with the other (empathical ly), dealing with issues as they arise</u> <u>Emergent transformat ive awareness</u>	<u>Musi c enters his life as a life- path</u> <u>Stron g sense of identi ty throu gh music</u>	<u>He recognises the circus school as an important emotional learning experience</u> <u>Circus experience more meaningful /real than school</u> <u>The whole circus experience was very important biographic ally</u>	<u>Aspiratio n (though details are vague)</u> <u>He hopes his destiny will make it possible to fulfil his wish</u> <u>Future plans: He has a clear plan to deepen his music skills and he has a number of projects.</u> <u>Anticipat ion of learning- imaginati on of will</u> <u>Ability to learn from experienc e, to modify plans, make them more realistic. Imaginai on of will</u>	<u>Awareness of agency in a communit y</u> <u>Social agency: awareness of social skills, engaging with (and understand ing the other- empathical ly) the other, dealing with issues as they arise</u> <u>He likes taking active responsibil ity for tasks.</u> <u>Agency: overing his own inhibitions</u> <u>taking on the challenge of</u>	<u>Uses his portfolio as reflection (even 3 years later)</u> <u>A formal, written reflection is meaningfu l to highlight or make clear what one has experience d (and thus learned)</u> <u>Self- discovery about the nature of creativity</u> <u>Self- awareness: His enjoyment of the creative process</u> <u>He shows self- critical ability and awareness</u>	<u>Uses symb ols (leave s)</u> <u>Use of symb ols (stars)</u>

<u>Awareness of the difficulties within the adult community (new awareness and maturity)</u> <u>Reflective awareness</u> <u>Awareness of opportunities for learning practical and artistic skills</u> <u>Awareness of positioning by others (prejudice)</u> <u>He shows a clear ability to position himself in relation to his interests and the people around him. He is thoughtful and takes a perspective over time.</u> <u>biographical awareness</u> <u>Clear biographical awareness</u> <u>Self-knowledge (touch of irony)</u> <u>He analyzes very clearly what is important in his life at the present: dialogue, discourse, learning and music.</u>	<u>of social difference.</u> <u>Empathy</u> <u>New perspective on his own life circumstances and those of others:</u> <u>biographical awareness</u> <u>Shock but non-judgemental tone-empathic understanding of other life situations.</u> <u>He analyzes very clearly what is important in his life at the present: dialogue, discourse, learning and music.</u> <u>Biographical interest in the other</u>				<u>overcoming his own limitations (dancing, being extrovert)</u> <u>Agency: overcome fear of performing in front of others</u> <u>Willingness and ability to take on another role- be someone else</u> <u>Ability to maintain his motivation even when others were not so motivated</u>	<u>of strengths and weaknesses of his film.</u> <u>He is able to re-interpret his own reflections from a year ago</u> <u>He notices the reflection before and after getting public resonance to his film</u> <u>He has a good understanding of learning, identifying the role of interest and distinguishing between outcome-driven learning and experience based learning.</u> <u>He thinks that narrative or written reflection is important for (informal) learning.</u>	
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Summary of super-ordinate themes

1	03 demonstrates significant awareness of biographical processes, what influences them socially and how they change over time.	Combining themes A, B, D and E
2	03 expresses rich self-awareness and empathic biographic awareness of others	Combining themes B, E and G
3	03 shows imagination of will (planning, anticipation) for self and others and is agentic	Combining themes F and G
4	03 offers some interesting insights into the nature of informal learning and the role of reflection	Theme F
5.	03 is able to speak coherently and interestingly about biographical issues, has wry self-depreciating humour and is sensitive to others.	
	The life path is clear, has direction and continuity, proceeding from above to below, from left to right and opening into the future.	Narrative drawing
	Music and conversation with friends dominate his interests at present	Positional graphic relationships
	Two of the four most important learning situations were semi-formal situations along with music and German literature.	Positional graphic biographical learning

06	Natural meaning units	Exploratory comments	Emergent themes
<p>I: Könnten sie zunächst etwas zu diesem ersten Bild sagen. Was haben sie sich dabei gedacht, als sie es gemalt haben?</p> <p>R: Mh, ich hab daran gedacht, wie so die ersten wichtigen Erlebnisse, die ich hatte – oder die mich heute noch prägen...</p> <p>Und das war, dass ich mit meiner Mutter alleine in Hamburg gewohnt hab und wir nicht viel Geld hatten und sie... - das prägt mich immer noch, dass ich sehr sparsam bin – und sie Operngesang studiert hat und ich oft mit hinter der Bühne war - und das mich auch heute in meinem heutigen Berufswunsch... auch sehr beeinflusst! Genau, das ist das erste.</p> <p>I: Es beginnt hier in Hamburg? Ah, ja hier ist die Bühne!</p> <p>R: Genau! (lach)</p> <p>I: Und wie geht es dann weiter?</p> <p>R: Das geht hier in drei Reihen weiter. Und weiter geht's dass ich dann nach Elmshorn, also nach Horst, gezogen bin und in Elmshorn zur Schule gegangen bin und ein ganz neues Umfeld hatte – also auf dem Land gewohnt hab, anstatt in der Stadt und bei meinen Großeltern und meinen Tanten; und ohne meine Mutter die erste Zeit. Und ne – diese weiteren Zeichnungen unterstützen sozusagen diese Situation: ich in der Schule. Ähm, ich war meistens in dieser Zeit eher auf mich gestellt in dieser Zeit viel. Das hat mich auch sehr geprägt, weil ich hatte nicht so viele Freunde, was nachher besser geworden ist - wenn man denn die Zeichnung weiter liest. Als meine Mutter denn auch nach Horst gezogen ist</p>	<p>Question: could first say something about the first picture. What did you think when you drew it?</p> <p>She thought about the first experiences that shaped her. The first was that she lived alone with her mother in (big city). They had little money- that has influenced her, her even today she is careful with money. Her mother studied opera singing and she was often backstage. This influenced her current career wishes.</p> <p>Question: it began in Hamburg and here is the stage?</p> <p>Yes (laughs)</p> <p>Question: and how did it go on?</p> <p>It proceeds here with there rows. She moved to the village where she currently lives and went to school and therefore had a new environment. She moved to the country from the city, moved near to grandparents and aunts but at first without her mother</p> <p>These drawings support/underline the meaning of the situation. During this time in school she was mostly alone/had to manage on her own and had few friends, though that got better. That made a deep impression on her. One can see this in the drawing. When her mother came back to</p>	<p>Deliberately uses graphic means to signify meaning</p> <p>Implication is that the travelling life was not 'normal' i.e. not like the life of the grandparents in the village</p>	<p><u>She can relate events in early childhood with how she is now- biographical awareness</u></p> <p><u>Move to new location meant new environment</u> <u>Separation from the mother</u> <u>Awareness of significance of the life changes</u></p> <p><u>Awareness of significance of the changes in her life and represent these</u> <u>Difficult time at school</u> <u>Awareness of the new family situation</u></p> <p><u>Strong awareness of perspective through new position</u> <u>Awareness how the new position changed other important aspects of her life</u></p>

<p>– mh - gab es eine ganz neue Familiensituation, weil sie ihren neuen Partner dann mitgebracht hat und wir dadurch sehr viel gereist sind, da er auch ein Sänger war – und wir viel rumgekommen sind und ich viel Abstand hatte zur Normalität des Lebens, wie ich es vorher kennengelernt hab: zur Schule, zu meinen mh... zu meine Klassenkameraden mh ...und eine ganz anderer Sicht auf's Leben irgendwie bekommen hab. Und dadurch ist nachher auch meine Schulleistung gestiegen und meine Anzahl der Freunde sind gestiegen und ich hab viel mehr Selbstvertrauen bekommen und ... genau, das soll nen bisschen so diese Wandlung darstellen...</p>	<p>the home in the village, there was a whole new family situation because she brought a new partner with her and we did a lot of travelling because they are both professional singers. This gave me a whole new perspective on normal life, on her relationship to her friends, to school. This helped her in her attainments at school. She gained more friends and her self-respect grew. (Pointing to the a part of the drawing) This represents the transformation.</p>	<p>She is indicating quite subtle levels in the drawing- parallels with her mother, symbols for transformation, significant moments</p>	<p><u>Comments on how she represents transformation in the drawing</u></p>
<p>I: Und das hier, was bedeutet das? R: Das äh, bin ich auf der Bühne – das ist dann auch ein Schulprojekt von unserem Klassenspiel – mh, das erste war unser 8.Klassspiel und dann unser 12.Klassspiel, in denen ich beiden relativ große Rollen hatte und mich das auch schon wieder unterstützt hat in diesem – in dieser - auch wieder hier Parallelen zu ziehen zum – wie meine Mutter auf der Bühne stand. Mh, dass ich dann auch dieses Selbstvertrauen eben auch bekommen hab, durch diesen ganzen Wandel, auch auf der Bühne zu stehen.</p>	<p>Question: and what does this mean? That indicates her on the stage during the class play in class 8 and then again in class 12. In both plays she performed relatively big roles. This also supported her (development). She highlights parallels to her mother on stage. She indicates that these experiences on the stage gave her self-confidence and were a form of transformation.</p>	<p>She becomes uncharacteristically inarticulate and hesitant in her speech. Perhaps a sign of the turmoil the exams brought and her ambivalence about them. But she does find a good metaphor for it. The future plan requires no explanation- it is straight there.</p>	<p><u>Awareness of moments of biographical significance awareness, roles and positions</u></p> <p><u>Awareness of moments of transformation</u></p>
<p>I: Und wie geht es weiter in der Zukunft, jetzt wo das Abi fast vorbei ist? R: Ja genau, Abi ist fast vorbei ... ist aber immer noch im Moment nen großes Thema – mh, aber das ist schon fast jetzt in dieser – in diesem Zeitpunkt ist es schon fast, mh, hinter mir, da ich ja – die ganzen Schriftlichen sind schon vorbei... Jetzt ist sozusagen der größte Berg erklommen! Und das größte Ziel, das</p>	<p>Question: so how does it go on in the future, now that the Abitur is almost over?</p> <p>Exams are still a big theme in her life- now she feels she has climbed a huge mountain. The big goal</p>		<p><u>Awareness of the significance of what she has just achieved (exams)</u> <u>Can represent this experience in a metaphor</u></p> <p><u>Imagination to will</u></p>

<p>jetzt erst mal vor mir liegt, ist die Tournee mit Ubuntu, mit dem Circus. Mh, und dann hab ich denn hier auf einen kleinen Weg gemalt, der in die Zukunft geht, dass der Rest noch mh, im Ungewissen ist... Ich weiß noch nicht genau – ich würde gerne – ich weiß schon, was ich ungefähr studieren möchte, aber im Moment hab ich auch wieder Zweifel daran, aber eigentlich möchte ich Regie studieren und das kann man vielleicht auch an meinem Lebenslauf so sehen...</p> <p>I: Und dieses Studium möchten sie gleich im nächsten Jahr beginnen. Oder nehmen sie sich davor noch etwas Zeit? R: 2015! I: Und was wollen sie bis dahin machen? R: mh, das ist noch nicht – da bin ich mir noch ganz unsicher im Moment. Ich wollte eigentlich am Thalia-Theater in Hamburg eine Hospitant machen – ein Regie Hospitant – und dann Regie studieren in 2015. I: Ok! Dann hoffe ich, dass das gelingt! R: Ja, (lach)! I: Ok, sehr schön! Dann kommen wir jetzt zu diesem Bild hier. Können sie das ein bisschen erläutern? Was haben sie sich dabei gedacht? R: Äh, mein erster – mein erster wichtiger Punkt war bei mir die Familie, besonders meine Mutter und meine Geschwister. Da ich ne sehr enge Beziehung mit meiner Mutter hab - eben durch meine Vergangenheit – und meine Geschwister noch sehr jung sind – also diese beiden Halbgeschwister, mit denen ich zusammen leben – und ich deswegen auch sehr mit denen involviert bin und auch zuhause halt; besonders im Moment. Und deswegen sind die im Moment sehr, sehr wichtig für mich und</p>	<p>is now the Ubuntu circus tour. She has drawn a small path into the future, though the rest is unknown and she is uncertain. She knows vaguely what she wants to study- she wants to study theatre directing- which she also relates to her biography .</p> <p>Question: do you want to start this course straight away in the coming (academic) year- or are you taking time out? 2015 Question: and what do you want to do until then?</p> <p>She is still uncertain. She wants to do a practicum in a theatre in Hamburg and then start studying in 2015</p> <p>Question: Ok I hope that works out Yes (laughs) (turning to the positional graph relationships) Question: can you tell me about this picture, what did you think about when you did it?</p> <p>Her first and most important point was her family and mother and siblings. Since she has such a close relationship with her mother throughout her life because her half-sisters are very young she has been very involved with her family at home. That's</p>	<p>Her mother was very young when she had her and the second family came later, so she has had a motherly role/ sister to her mother role</p> <p>Ubuntu is circus project for children with biographical difficulties. 04 has been involved for many years and is now one of the older ones with responsibility. <i>She uses the phrase sehr viel Spaß macht = it is a lot of fun. Spaß is a multi-valent term in this generation meaning fun but also engagement, interest, worthwhile doing</i></p>	<p><u>She is able to link her plans to her biography</u> <u>She has concrete wishes for the future, though not in detail</u></p> <p><u>She knows exactly when she is going to do this</u></p> <p><u>Awareness of relationships to mother and half-sister and role in the family</u></p>
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<p>sind deswegen auch hier in der Mitte aufgeklebt. Mh, dann das nächste, was – der nächst wichtige Punkt ist Ubuntu eben, weil ich gerade auch sehr involviert bin da. Und mir das auch sehr viel Spaß macht und ich da oft dran denke.</p> <p>I: Könnten sie ein bisschen über Ubuntu erzählen? Was ist „Ubuntu“ überhaupt und warum ist Ubuntu so wichtig für sie?</p> <p>R: Ja, Ubuntu ist ein Circus, der in Horst seine –mh – Position hat; also sein, seinen Rückzug sozusagen. Und das ist ein soziales Projekt mit Kindern und Jugendlichen, die mh... die jedes Jahr zusammen kommen – also jedes Jahr ist es wieder einen neue Vertragsunterzeichnung, wo sich an die 70 Kinder und Freiwillige bereit erklären, dieses Jahr einen Circus zu machen und mit dem durch Schleswig-Holstein zu touren. Mh, und dieses Jahr bin ich eben auch ein Teil davon. Und es macht mir eben sehr viel Spaß.</p> <p>I: Fahren sie zum ersten Mal mit?</p> <p>R: Ja, zum ersten Mal! Genau, ich bin da durch – auch durch Freunde hingekommen, die auch mh, dort sind und dort mitarbeiten. Und das ist eben ne freiwillige Arbeit. Ich bekomme kein Geld dafür. Man muss eher zwar bezahlen für das ganze Essen und die... - aber es macht sehr viel Spaß und außerdem, was mich daran reizt, ist die ganze Herzlichkeit und da herrscht sehr viel Liebe, so menschliche Liebe, so zwischenmenschliche Liebe, was mich sehr – die mich sehr auch anzieht da zu diesem Projekt.</p> <p>I: Und welche Rolle oder Aufgabe werden sie dort haben?</p>	<p>why they are so important at the moment.</p> <p>The next important thing is Ubuntu (circus) because she was very involved in this at the time. This is fun and she thinks about it a lot.</p> <p>Question: could tell me about Ubuntu and why it is important for you?</p> <p>Ubuntu is a circus located in her village. It has its base there. It is a social project for children and young people who come together every year . Each year each person- 70 adults and children- signs a contract to perform a circus show and tour the region. This year she is part of it - and she really enjoys it this- and she really enjoys it</p> <p>Question: are you travelling with the circus for the first time?</p> <p>Yes. She has contacts through friends and she is now doing voluntary work there, for which she gets no money. One even has to pay for the food but she really enjoys it. What she really enjoys is the heartiness and that there is so much love- so much mutual love. That is what draws her to the project.</p>	<p><i>Rückzug means retreat or fall back position or even sanctuary- suggests that the circus has all these functions for her-</i></p> <p>The point about the contract is interesting- it is voluntary but each person –adults and children- pledges their commitment to the project. This aspect has obviously made an impression on her since it is the only detail she offers.</p> <p>She emphasizes that she gets no money, so its obviously an important aspect for her</p> <p><i>Zwischenmenschlich= literally between people but implying not romantic or sexual love but human love</i></p> <p><i>Interesting use of words, Standpunkt, Fixpunkt= standpoint, fixed position and movement away from these points</i></p>	<p><u>Her thoughts are on her next project</u></p> <p><u>She shows an awareness of the importance of taking a position in a social practice (circus)</u></p> <p><u>Her motivation for working in the circus is the quality of love and relationships</u></p>
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<p>R: Ich arbeite in der Schneiderei, also als Schneiderin – genau!</p> <p>I: Gut, nun sehe ich hier, dass Schule ein bisschen weiter weggerückt ist; könne sie dazu etwas sagen?</p> <p>R: Genau, das ist - mh - von meinem jetzigen Standpunkt aus, wo ich schon hinter den, hinter den Fixpunkten stehe. Natürlich hat Schule in den letzten Monaten sehr mein Leben dominiert. Aber jetzt gerade in diesem Standpunkt ist es bisschen zur Seite gerückt.</p> <p>I: Also, gut. Schule ist also in etwa so weit weg wie die „Zukunft“ – sie stehen also genau dazwischen?</p> <p>R: Ja, genau!</p> <p>I: Und wie ist das mit dem Chor?</p> <p>R: Chor, war mh – auch in den letzten Monaten sehr wichtig – mh, da wir auf einen Wettbewerb hingearbeitet haben und den auch – den also das hab ich auch noch jetzt neben der Schule - ist jetzt aber vorbei diese Projekt. Wir haben letztes Wochenende in Weimar gesungen beim Deutschlandwettbewerb und das war nen großes Wettbewerb.</p> <p>I: Was ist an dem Chor für sie wichtig?</p> <p>R: Mh, noch ein ganz anderes Umfeld an Leuten. Das sind ältere Menschen – also älter als ich normalerweise im Umfeld hab und mh, da kommen ganz andere Gespräche zustande und ne ganz andere – so Zusammensein – einfach was ganz neues; das ist denn jeden Mittwoch ne ganz andere Welt, in die man steigen kann.</p> <p>I: Diese Menschen im Chor sind also nicht unbedingt in ihrem Alter? Oder gibt es dort auch Jüngere?</p> <p>R: Ne, die meisten sind berufstätig und es sind nur ca. 3 die studieren.</p>	<p>Question: and what role or task will you have?</p> <p>She will sew costumes</p> <p>(going back to the graphic) Question: I see that school has moved from near the centre- could you say something about that?</p> <p>From her current position, she is beyond those fixed points. Obviously the school had dominated in the last few months but at this moment/in this current position it has moved away.</p> <p>(Referring to the graphic) Question: the post-it with school on it is as far away as the post-it with future- are you are standing exactly between these positions</p> <p>Yes, exactly</p> <p>Question (also referring to the graphic) What about the choir?</p> <p>Over the past few months the choir was very important and, alongside school (and exams) she was working towards a competition. Now this is over. In the previous week they performed in Weimar in a big national competition.</p> <p>Question: what is important about the choir for you?</p> <p>It is totally social field, with different people to her usually contexts. Quite different conversations occur and a very different way of being together. Every Wednesday</p>	<p>Alongside all the other challenges (exams, family, circus) she sings in a professional choir! This indicates how ell organized she is and how many different fields of practice she is involved in. I forget to ask if they won the competition and she doesn't mention this either</p> <p>So she is the youngest.</p>	<p><u>Awareness of positioning</u></p> <p><u>Talk about positioning</u></p> <p><u>Choir is another major (semi-formal) practice</u></p> <p><u>Awareness of different social practices in which she is at home- sign of good coherence across contexts</u></p>
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<p>I: Ok, Danke! Ich glaube, das ist ein klares Bild.</p> <p>I: So dann kommen wir jetzt zum schulischen Teil. Hier haben wir sehr viele Informationen, die wir nicht in allen Einzelheiten besprechen müssen, aber lassen sie uns das Gesamtbild anschauen. Wenn sie ihre persönliche Entwicklung insgesamt betrachten, wo sind dann die entscheidenden Positionen. Was haben sie sich überlegt, als sie diese Aspekte so platziert haben?</p> <p>R: Ich hab mir überlegt, dass die informellen Fächer sozusagen, mh, ne größere Bedeutung hatten in meiner, mh Laufbahn, also für mein – für meine Entwicklung.</p> <p>Mh, jedoch auch manche formellen z.B. Deutsch – das Fach Deutsch hat mich sehr - besonders ab der 8.Klasse - sehr stark begleitet, mh, das auch ja an unserer Schule der Lehrerwechsel da stattfindet – also ab der Neunten. Wir hatten aber in dem Fach Deutsch schon früher – also eine Epoche sozusagen – mh ne, eine neue Lehrerin und das hat mich, hat mich sehr mh (pause) verändert auch ... - dieses Fach hat mich sehr begleitet.</p> <p>Mh, außerdem Englisch – überhaupt der Englischunterricht und die Englische Epoche „growing up“ waren auch wichtig – waren auch wichtig in meiner Laufbahn... vielleicht auch mh – oder auf jeden Fall, wegen meinem Zustand zuhause, da ja der neue Partner meiner Mutter Engländer ist. Und mh, Englisch da für mich auch leichter wurde und deswegen auch ne – ein ganz anderen</p>	<p>evening she enters this totally different world. Question: Does that mean that the people in the choir are not necessarily your age? Or there also young people?</p> <p>Most are working and only three are students Question: OK thanks, now I have a clear picture.</p> <p>Now we come to the school part. (positional graphic learning) You have provided a lot of information- we don't have talk about all the details but rather the whole picture. From the perspective o your biographical development, where are the decisive positions? What did you think when you considered this aspect in placing the cards?</p> <p>She considered that the informal learning situations (subjects) had a greater significance for her life course. Some formal subjects were also important such as German. That is a subject that intensively accompanied her since the change of teacher in class 8. This subject and the new teacher really (long pause) changed her. Also the English blocks, such the growing up project, were very important for her life course. This had to do with the fact that her mother' s new partner is English.</p>		<p><u>Informal subjects had a greater significance for her life course.</u></p> <p><u>The subjects of German and English were important for her because of relationships</u></p> <p><u>Awareness of the biographical significance of learning</u></p> <p><u>Imagination of will(link between</u></p>
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<p>Einfluss auf mich hatte und ich irgendwie das Gefühl hatte, ich kann da punkten in dem Fach oder irgendwie mich identifizieren und mich da mit den Inhalten vielleicht sogar noch besser auseinandersetzen, dadurch dass man ne Grundlage hat.</p> <p>I: Gut. Dann lassen sie uns nun nacheinander zu den informellen Aspekten kommen. Beginnen wir mit dem Sozialpraktikum. Was haben sie dabei gemacht und was haben sie erlebt.</p> <p>R: Sozialpraktikum – äh – ist bei mir auch relativ nah dran – also an dem wichtigen – an meiner äh persönlichen Entwicklung. Da ich vorhatte zu dieser Zeit – hatte ich mit dem Gedanken gespielt, ob ich mh, Kindergärtnerin werde oder Erzieherin und hab eben auch ein Praktikum – beim Sozialpraktikum ein Praktikum im Kindergarten gemacht...</p> <p>Äh, hab aber eher schlechte Erfahrungen gemacht – jetzt nicht mit mir selbst und den Kindern, sondern eher äh mit Erzieherinnen und der Umgang von Erzieherinnen mit Kindern und auch dieser ganze Alltag mit den Kindern – da war ich mir nicht mehr so sicher, ob ich das ... ob ich das kann später – ob mir das nicht vielleicht persönlich zu langweilig ist oder zu un kreativ.</p> <p>Mh... genau, deswegen hat mich das da schon dann in Gedanken gebracht - und begleitet mich immer noch - manchmal die Erinnerung also an dieses Zeit - dass ich auch selbst später nicht mir Kindern so umgehen möchte, wie manche Erzieherinnen das tun.</p>	<p>Therefore English was in some ways easier for her. She also had the feeling that she could get better grades in English because of this. At nay rate she felt she could engage more with English because she had this background.</p> <p>Question: let's turn to individual informal learning situations (that she had positioned , starting with the social practicum. What did you do and what did you experience?</p> <p>The social practicum is still quite near to on the graphic) to her and thus was one of the most important experiences for her personal development. Before the practical she had played with the idea of becoming a kindergarten teacher so she chose to do her practicum in a kindergarten.</p> <p>But she had bad experiences there, not with herself or with the children but with the kindergarten teachers and how they were with the children and also the aspect of spending everyday with them. Now she is not sure if she wants to do that, whether it isn't</p>		<p><u>practicum and possible career)</u></p> <p><u>She still reflects on her experiences two years previously</u> <u>She is capable of forming judgements about what she doesn't want in future (in relation to how she will be with children)</u></p>
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<p>I: Aha, ja! Haben sie bei dem Sozialpraktikum im Anschluss eine Präsentation gemacht?</p> <p>R: Mhm, ich glaube das war keine Präsentation richtig, sondern son Infoabend, wo wir dann alle nen Tisch hatten mit...</p> <p>I: Und haben sie über das Praktikum auch eine Reflexion geschrieben?</p> <p>R: Mhm...</p> <p>I: Können sie sich noch erinnern, was sie dabei erlebt haben? War das so ungefähr das, was sie bereits geschildert haben?</p> <p>R: Also, bei dem Beschreiben oder bei dem Erleben...</p> <p>I: Nein, also ich meine bei der Reflexion, also bei dem Rückblick!</p> <p>R: (lange Pause) – ich hab immer noch nicht die Frage verstanden... bei dem Rückblick...?</p> <p>I: Also worauf ich hinaus will: Sie haben damals zum einen ein Lerntagebuch geschrieben und zum anderen eine Reflexion am Ende des Praktikum. Mich interessiert nun, ob sie es hilfreich fanden, diese Reflexion zu schreiben. War diese Aufgabe ein hilfreiches Element mit Blick auf die gesamte Lernerfahrung des Sozialpraktikums?</p> <p>R: Die Reflexion schon, aber mir hat zum Beispiel – ich glaub bei dem Sozialpraktikum mussten nicht jeden Tag was schreiben, so wie bei den anderen Praktika, die wir gemacht haben – z.B. bei dem Betriebspraktikum mussten man jeden Tag was</p>	<p>too boring and uncreative. She still reflects on that experience and thinks that later when she has children she doesn't want to be with children in the way some of those kindergarten teachers were with their children.</p> <p>Question: Did you give a presentation after the practicum?</p> <p>She doesn't think that was a presentation as such, more of an information evening.</p> <p>Question: And you did a written reflection about the practicum?</p> <p>Mmm</p> <p>Question; can you recall what you experienced , or was that more or less what you have described already? What I experienced or what I wrote? Question: No I mean the reflection, the review.</p> <p>(long pause) I still don't understand the question</p> <p>Question: what I am getting at is this: at the time you wrote a journal and also a written reflection at the end of the practicum. I am interested whether you found writing this reflection useful. Was this a helpful task in</p>	<p>I have been trying to indirectly find out if reflection supported the learning process but obviously didn't make myself understood. In the end we get there! I think without leading the question too much.</p>	<p><u>Reflection helps sort out one's experiences and thoughts</u></p> <p><u>Class play was important for how the class could work together afterwards</u></p>
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<p>schreiben. Das war mir eher lässig, weil man eigentlich jeden Tag dasselbe auch geschrieben hat.</p> <p>I: Und die Reflexion?</p> <p>R: Die Reflexion war glaub ich ganz gut, um das auch einmal zusammenzufassen, was man da...</p> <p>Mit dieser Reflexion hat man sich auch auf die - nachher auf die Präsentation vielleicht auch vorbereitet, weil man da ja auch sagen muss, was man erlebt hat und was man gut oder schlecht fand und da kann man sozusagen schon mal die Gedanken, die man hat einfach mal ordnen und aufschreiben.</p> <p>I: Gut! Dann kommen wir zum Klassenspiel sagen? Sie hatten es zwar zuvor schon erwähnt, aber vielleicht können sie noch etwas zu ihren Erfahrungen sagen. Was haben sie dabei erlebt und gelernt?</p> <p>R: Das Klassenspiel war insofern sehr wichtig, das die – unserer Klassengemeinschaft da sehr gewachsen ist - deswegen liegen die auch direkt übereinander – und das auch zu der Entwicklung von jedem aus der Klasse geführt hat. Das sie – wenn die so zusammen weg sind, kann man auch – hat man viel mehr Vertrauen zu denen und kann auch besser zusammen lernen und hat irgendwie mehr – traut sich auch die mehr zu fragen oder im Unterricht mitzuarbeiten, wenn man sowieso Vertrauen zu denen hat oder entwickelt hat und sich mit denen auf einer Wellenlänge irgendwie unterhalten kann und auch lernen kann zusammen.</p> <p>I: Und hat diese besondere Atmosphäre auch nach dem Stück gehalten? Das ist ja jetzt auch schon eine Weile her...</p> <p>R: Ja, nach dem 12.Klassstück hat das</p>	<p>relation to your experience of learning connected with the practicum?</p> <p>The reflection did help but she didn't think that she had to write a report every day as they had done with the other practicals. She experienced that a burden because every day they did the same things.</p> <p>Question: and the reflection</p> <p>She thought doing the reflection was good-summarizing once what...The reflection was a preparation for the presentation afterwards because there one was required to say what one had experienced, what one had found good or bad. Thus one can write down and order one's thoughts.</p> <p>Question: let us come now to the class play. You mentioned it before, perhaps you could say something more about your experiences, about what you experienced and what you learned?</p>	<p>Initially she felt it wasn't biographically important but now in retrospect –i.e. in relation to the biographical construction of the drawing and now the narrative- its gains a new importance- <u>(biographical learning (Alheit))</u></p> <p><i>Very conversational tone</i></p> <p><i>Use of the third person-distancing, positioning</i></p> <p><i>Ja genau = yes that's exactly how it was-self-affirming tone- taking a new</i></p>	<p><u>Awareness of the social dynamic of the social group</u></p> <p><u>She re-assesses the importance of her independent project (family identity)</u></p> <p><u>Researching the past can help one find oneself</u></p> <p><u>Search for identity within a patchwork family and how important it is to feel good about that-</u></p>
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<p>gehalten! Und besonders nach der 12. -da sind ja viele gegangen aus der Klasse - und es sind eigentlich nur die gegangen, die eh nicht sehr integriert waren in die Klasse. Die andern sind eigentlich geblieben und dadurch ist die Klassengemeinschaft noch mal zusammengewachsen. Aber das Klassenspiel war ein sehr großer Schub in die Richtung, ja!</p> <p>I: Und wie war die Jahresarbeit?</p> <p>R: Die Jahresarbeit war für mich persönlich jetzt - mh (pause) – nicht so wichtig, aber da – mh – hab ich hier als nicht sehr wichtig eingestuft...</p> <p>Wenn ich aber darüber nachdenke, ist es vielleicht - in meinem Fall war sie doch ein bisschen wichtiger als ich sie hier eingestuft, da ich ja Ahnenforschung betrieben hab.</p> <p>I: Was genau haben sie da gemacht - können sie das genauer benennen?</p> <p>R: Ahnenforschung, also meinen Stammbaum aufgestellt und deshalb äh, war das schon wichtig, obwohl ich vieles davon schon wusste. Aber das noch mal aufzuschreiben – und ich hatte ja auch Geschichten zu meine Verwandten irgendwie aufgestellt und dann nach der Suche – jeder ist ja irgendwie auf der Suche nach sich selbst und wenn man dann, ähm... bis in die Vergangenheit guckt, dann hilft das!</p> <p>I: Wissen sie noch, wie sie auf dieses Thema gekommen sind?</p> <p>R: Mh, größtenteils aus Interesse und das...</p> <p>Da ich ja ne sehr große Patchworkfamilie hab – also viele 1. Ehe, 2. Ehe und, und da auch immer Kinder aus 1. und 2. Ehe und jetzt über verschiedenen Länder verteilt – wurde man oft</p>	<p>The class play was very important because it enables the class community to grow- (that is why the cards lie directly under each other i.e class play and class trip). It contributed to the development of the class and to each one in the class. When one is away together, one has much more trust for each other and can better learn together. One also gains more confidence to ask questions in the lessons or to work together, when one is on the same wave length and talk together</p> <p>Question: and did this special atmosphere (of trust) last after the play was finished- it is quite a while ago now?</p> <p>Yes, especially in the 12 grade (the play is at the beginning of the 12th grade). Since many left the class, who anyway were no so integrated into the class. The others who stayed have retained this togetherness.</p> <p>Question: and the independent project?</p> <p>The independent project wasn't so important for her, that is why she didn't position it with such importance (in the drawing). On reflection it was actually more important than she originally positioned since she carried out research into her ancestors.</p>	<p><i>position in relation to the experience</i></p>	
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<p>gefragt, „ja und wer ist der?“ Und „in welcher Beziehung stehst du zu dem/oder der?“. Mh, und wenn man das dann selbst nicht genau wusste, dann hat man sich eher schlecht gefühlt, dass man seine eigene Familie nicht kennt und – ja genau, das war auch ein Antrieb.</p> <p>I: Ok, gut! Ja, ich glaube, das reicht uns!</p> <p>Vielen Dank!</p>	<p>Question: what exactly did do?</p> <p>Ancestor research of her family tree. That was why it was in fact important. Although she knew some of the background, the act of writing it down (pause implying that was important). She portrayed the stories of her relatives. Everyone is somehow searching for herself and it helps when one looks into the past.</p> <p>Question: do you know how you arrived at this theme?</p> <p>Mainly out of interest. She belongs to a large patchwork family, with many first marriages, second marriages and children from both, now spread across different countries. One often asks, and who is that? What relationship does he or she have to him or her? If one does not know that oneself, then you can feel bad that you don't know your own family. That was the motivation to do that.</p> <p>I: Ok thanks very much</p>		
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06 themes

A. biographical awareness/ meaning of events/representation of experiences	B Location, position	C. imagination of will reflection on experiences	D Empathy, altruism	E Semi-formal practices/significance of learning
<u>She can relate events in early childhood with how she is now- biographical awareness</u> <u>Move to new location meant new environment</u> <u>Awareness of significance of the life changes</u> <u>Awareness of significance of the changes in her life and represent these</u> <u>Awareness of the new family situation</u> <u>Awareness of moments of biographical significance</u> <u>Awareness of the significance of what she has just achieved (exams)</u> <u>Can represent this experience in a metaphor</u> <u>She is able to link her plans to her biography</u> <u>She re-assesses the importance of he independent project (family identity)</u> <u>Researching the past can help one find oneself</u> <u>Search for identity within a patchwork family and how important it is to feel good about that</u>	<u>Move to new location meant new environment</u> <u>Separation from the mother</u> <u>Difficult time at school</u> <u>Strong awareness of perspective through new position</u> <u>awareness, roles and positions</u> <u>Awareness of moments of transformation</u> <u>Awareness of relationships to mother and half-sister, role in the family</u> <u>She shows an awareness of the importance of taking a position in a social practice (circus)</u> <u>Awareness of positioning (school)</u> <u>Talk about positioning</u> <u>Awareness of different social practices in which she is at home- sign of good coherence across contexts</u>	<u>Imagination of will</u> <u>She has concrete wishes for the future, though not in detail</u> <u>She knows exactly when she is going to do this</u> <u>Her thoughts are on her next project</u> <u>Imagination of will(link between practicum and possible career)</u> <u>She is capable of forming judgements about what she doesn't want in future (in relation to how she will be with children)</u> <u>She still reflects on her experiences two years previously</u> <u>Reflection helps sort out one's experiences and thoughts</u>	<u>Her motivation for working in the circus is the quality of love and relationships</u> <u>Awareness of the social dynamic of the social group</u>	<u>Choir is another major (semi-formal) practice</u> <u>Informal subjects had a greater significance for her life course.</u> <u>The subjects of German and English were important for her because of relationships</u> <u>Awareness of the biographical significance of learning</u> <u>Class play was important for how the class could work together afterwards</u>

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Summary of super-ordinated themes

1.	06 shows strong biographical awareness and can order the events in her life coherently	Combined themes from A
2.	06 is able to position herself in relation to others in various situations	Combined themes from B
3.	06 even though her future is open she is capable of planning and imagining the next steps in her life	Combined themes from C
4.	She consciously values family and community	Combined themes from A, B and D
5.	She identifies semi formal learning as very biographically important	Combined themes from A
6.	Reflection is important, even a long time after the event	Combined themes from a and C
7.	Shows empathy, concern for other	Combined from D
	The life course is compartmentalised, showing distinct phases, which are highlighted as positive or problematical, showing clear positioning and assessment of biographical significance.	Narrative drawing
	Family and community in the present. School and future now slightly distant.	Positional graphic relationships
	Four semi-formal learning situations and English are the most important fields for her biographical learning.	Positional graphic biog learning

Transcript No.12	Natural meaning units	discussion	themes
<p>I: Sie haben hier ein erstes Bild gemalt, auf dem sie ihren Lebenslauf dargestellt haben. Könnten sie mir berichten, was sie beim Malen gedacht und erlebt haben?</p> <p>R: Ja, also als Hauptmotiv hab ich mir einen Fluss gedacht, weil das Leben geht ja auch weiter, immer stetig weiter, wie praktisch ein Fluss. Deswegen steht der Fluss in der Mitte. Und entlang dieses Flusses hab ich sozusagen – fast nen bisschen chronologisch – mein Leben aufgemalt. Das fängt unten rechts an: da sind meine Eltern noch zusammen und ich und meine Schwester, wir wohnen alle in einem Haus. Und dann geht das auf der anderen Seite weiter: da ham‘ sich meine Eltern dann schon getrennt und mein Vater wohnt da. Und ich wohn‘ noch - ich wechsel immer... und da wohnt noch meine Mutter und meine Schwester wohnt da auch noch. Dann geht das im Fluss weiter. Dann kommt der Kindergarten –ähm... dazu hab ich nicht mehr. Dann kommt ein Pferd, weil ich viel mit Pferden zu tun hatte – meine Mutter ist auch Reitlehrerin. Also das begleitet mich auch mein Leben lang. Dann kommt die Schule. Zuerst wie ich eingeschult werde und dann ein kleiner Weg bis ich hier mein Abiturzeugnis in der Hand halte.</p>	<p>I: you have drawn the first picture in which you have shown your life path. Can you tell me what thought and experienced when you did it?</p> <p>R: “Well yes, I chose a river as the main motif because life always flows on just like a river. That is why the river stands in the middle. Along the riversides I have drawn my life almost a bit chronologically. This starts below right: there my parents were still together and I lived with them and my sister in a house. Then it continues on the other side because my parents had separated by then and my father lives on the other side, and my sister and my mother on that side. I move back and forth between my parents.</p> <p>Then the river flows on, and comes to the kindergarten- I have nothing further to show there. Then it comes to a horse because I have had lot to do with horses- my mother is a riding teacher and this has accompanied me throughout my whole life.</p> <p>Then comes the school. First I was inducted into school. Then there is a short path and I can be seen standing with my Abitur certificate in my hand. Above the river some of my classmates are</p>	<p>She explains in a clear and helpful and slightly detached way the picture to me as if I was totally unfamiliar with the situation</p> <p>An example of narrative emplotment(Polkinghorne, 1988), intensity, descriptive quality and learning potential (Biesta et al 2011)</p>	<p><u>She represents her life along the sides of a river that is central to the picture, the sides of the river represent different sides of her life- biographical awareness and positioning.</u></p> <p><u>She positions herself in relation to her split family and the various constellations of friendship at school</u></p> <p><u>A clear analysis of changing relationships in the class in a matter of fact way showing some detachment or distance</u></p> <p><u>She shows a clear awareness of age-related activities (kindergarten, entry to school, the age at which one starts partying)</u></p> <p><u>She identifies what belongs to her life path (here the bus and travelling in France)- shows biographical awareness</u></p> <p><u>Her VW bus is freedom for, she can go where she wants- it is an expression of her agency</u></p> <p><u>She has a clear life construct and can determine what belongs to it and what not, and uses this to guide her life (when to be alone, where to go)- evidence of biographical learning?</u></p>

<p>Hier oben, das soll Klassenkameraden darstellen; aber auch Freunde, die stetig wechseln. Also über die Zeit hat man immer wieder andere Freunde gehabt, das ist nicht gleich geblieben... und auch dass man – also hier sind zwei Mädchen, aber hier ist auch ein Junge, weil man sich ja auch sehr gut mit den Jungs immer in der Klasse verstanden hat und angefreundet. Hier unten ist dann einmal wieder zwei Mädchen, weil so die beste Freundin ist ja dann doch meistens ein Mädchen – und das begleitet einen eigentlich auch, aber es hat auch gewechselt. Dann daneben - ähm sind zwei sind zwei Figuren mit einem Herz. Das sind... ich und mein Freund soll das sein, der begleitet mich jetzt auch schon eine sehr lange Zeit. Ähm, hier ist dann ein neuer wichtiger Aspekt, der erst im Alter dazugekommen ist –äh- das Feiern gehen und Tanzen, das gehört auch auf jeden Fall dazu! Dann kommt ganz oben ein Auto. Ein VW-Bus und eine Landkarte von Frankreich, weil das ist mein Auto und damit bin ich schon durch Frankreich gereist und das war sehr schön – und ich denke, das gehört auch mit zu meinem Lebensweg, weil das eine sehr wichtige Erfahrung war. Und der Bus sowieso, weil da wohn ich schon fast drinnen – und ich schlaf da auch jetzt sehr oft drinnen. Ähm, das ist auf jeden Fall... gehört das dazu, weil das einfach so die – das ist einfach für mich</p>	<p>shown, but also friends who continuously change. Over time one has lots of different friends in the class including boys because one could have good friendships with boys in my class. These are shown in the drawing by two girls and one boy. There below are two girls because usually one's best friend long term is a girl who accompanies one but these also change over time. Then there are two figures together with a heart. That is me and me boyfriend, who has accompanied me for a long time. This represents a new stage that comes with a certain age – partying and dancing- which definitely belongs to the picture!</p> <p>Then the river brings us to a car, a VW bus and a map of France because I and my bus have travelled widely in France and it was a beautiful time. This belongs to my life path because it was a very important experience. The bus is important too because I practically live in it now and I often sleep in it. This also belongs to my life path because it means for freedom for me. I can go where I want and sleep where I want. That definitely belongs. Then (in the picture) above I have shown a bit of nature, a tree, a cloud because firstly when I'm with the horses nature is always present and secondly when I drive around with my bus, then I often sleep in nature. It simply belongs to this way of life that one can live this and enjoy it. I also like</p>	<p><i>“und ich denke, das gehört auch mit zu meinem Lebensweg, weil das eine sehr wichtige Erfahrung war.” = “I think that belongs to my life path because it was a very important experience”</i></p> <p><i>“das ist einfach für mich Freiheit! Ich kann hinfahren, wo ich will und ich kann dann sogar noch darin Schlafen, wo ich will – das ist... gehört auf jeden Fall dazu!” = “that is simply freedom for me. I can go where I want to and I can sleep where I want- that definitely belongs (to my life path)”</i></p> <p><i>Her frequent use of the phrase “das gehört dazu” meaning it belongs to it (her life, situation, way of seeing things) suggests that she has a clear construct of her life and can say what belongs to it and what not. This also seems to have been her own construction- nothing in the transcript suggests that she</i></p>	
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<p>Freiheit! Ich kann hinfahren, wo ich will und ich kann dann sogar noch darin Schlafen, wo ich will – das ist... gehört auf jeden Fall dazu!</p> <p>Dann hab ich hier oben noch Natur son bisschen – ein Baum und ne Wolke und ne Sonne ... weil das erstens immer, wenn ich beim Pferd bin dazugehört und zweitens auch ähm, für mich so – wenn ich mit meinem Auto rumfahre, dann schlaf ich oft in der Natur. Also das gehört einfach auch dazu, dass man das so lebt und genießen kann. Ich bin auch gern alleine dann da. Das ist auch – find ich auch ganz wichtig, dass man auch mal so Ruhe hat. Das geht am besten auch bei den Pferden, weil man sich da einfach entspannen kann.</p> <p>Ja, ich glaub das war's dann erst mal.</p>	<p>to be alone, since it is also important to be able to have one's peace. That also works best with the horses because one can simply relax. I think that's all to start with. “</p> <p>like this and enjoy it. I also like to be alone, since it is also important to be able to have one's peace. That also works best with the horses because one can simply relax. I think that's all to start with.</p> <p>Then she points to the next sign, and says that this represents a new stage that comes with a certain age – partying and dancing- which definitely belongs to the picture!</p> <p>Then the river brings us to a car, a VW bus and a map of France because she and her bus have travelled widely in France and it was a beautiful time. She</p>	<p><i>has modelled this on anyone she refers to.</i></p>	
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	<p>insists that this belongs to her life path because it was an important experience. The bus is important too because she practically lives I it now., she often sleeps there. It belongs to her life path and means for her freedom. She can go where she wants and sleep where she wants.</p>		
<p>I: Ja, sehr schön! Erleben sie dieses ganze Bild hier als direkten Zusammenhang? R: Ja! I: Oder gibt es auch einzelne Teile, die irgendwie „nicht zum Bild gehören“? Oder ist eigentlich alles integriert, denn so hat es zumindest auf mich gewirkt! R: Ja doch, ich denke schon!</p>	<p>I: Yes, very nice. Do you experience the whole picture as belonging together?</p> <p>R: yes!</p> <p>I: or are there parts that don't belong to the picture or is everything integrated because that's the impression it has on me?</p> <p>R: Oh I believe so.</p>		<p><u>The picture is coherent and consistent with her narrative</u></p>
<p>I: Und wie sind ihre Zukunftspläne? Wohin wird der Fluss jetzt weiterfließen? R: Ja, das äh - beginnt jetzt ja für nen ganz neuer Lebensabschnitt. Den stell ich mir eigentlich so vor, dass ich vielleicht von zuhause dann ausziehe, dann würde noch nen drittes Haus – äh, ein viertes Haus dazukommen. Ähm und dass ich vielleicht</p>	<p>I: And what future plans do you have? Where will the river flow to next?</p> <p>I: She says that now a new phase in her life is beginning. She imagines that she will move out of her home, then she would have to draw a third or rather fourth house. She might study but not immediately. First she will travel around with her bus</p>		<p><u>She refers to her future planning still in terms of the picture</u></p> <p><u>Social practical contributed to her decision to study social pedagogy</u></p> <p><u>Her vision of the future is primarily the continuation of her existing social relationships</u></p>

<p>studiere, aber erst mal noch nicht! Erst mal will ich mit meinem Auto vielleicht ein bisschen rumreisen, aber später stell ich mir das dann vor, dass ich hier oben studieren werde und vielleicht nicht mehr zuhause wohne.</p> <p>I: Haben sie eine Vorstellung oder eine Idee dazu, was sie studieren wollen?</p> <p>R: Ja ich möchte gerne Sozialpädagogik studieren, weil ich denke, da ham' auch meine Praktika zu beigetragen, dass ich mich dafür entschieden habe. Und... ja, ich wird' mich dann mal bewerben und mal gucken, wo man angenommen wird.</p> <p>I: Und wenn sie so in die Zukunft blicken, was denken sie – aus heutiger Sicht – wird für sie in ihrem Leben wichtig sein?</p> <p>R: Also ich denk mal natürlich meine Familie: meine Mutter und mein Vater und meine Schwester. Also das sind so die drei wichtigsten Personen dann und... der Rest der Familie ist auch ein bisschen wichtig, aber eigentlich nicht so sehr, wie die anderen. Und ich denk' auch, dass mein Freund immer noch ne Rolle spielen wird, weil wir jetzt auch sehr lange zusammen sind und der wird bestimmt auch in meiner Zukunft noch da sein. Und ich denk auch meine beste Freundin, weil, ja... ich denk, das wir noch sein...</p>	<p>(pointing to the picture) and then she will study here and no longer live at home.</p> <p>I: Do you have any idea what you want to study?</p> <p>R: She wants to study social pedagogy (social work). She says that her social practical contributed to this decision. She will apply and see what happens.</p> <p>I: When you look into the future from today's perspective, what do you think will be important for you?</p> <p>R: She naturally thinks about her family, mother, father, sister, these are the three most important people in her life, the res of the family also a little bit important but not very. She imagines that her boyfriend will play a role in her future because they have been together for such a long time and this will go on into the future. She thinks that her best</p>	<p>Social practical Social pedagogy means social work</p>	<p><u>Has a plan to become a social worker</u></p>
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<p>Auto, Schlafen ... und dann andere Freunde. Hier ist dann noch meine Oma sehr wichtig! Ähm, nicht so wichtig für mich persönlich ist eigentlich das Arbeiten, aber es ist wichtig, weil ich ja das Geld brauche.</p> <p>I: Arbeiten sie jetzt gerade? R: Ja!</p> <p>I: Was machen die denn? R: Mh, ich arbeite im Arboretum, das ist so ein kleines Café – im Café also! Das ist auch sehr nett, weil ich kann mir das selber einteilen. Ich werd nicht eingeteilt sondern ich kann selber sagen: „ja da hätt‘ ich Zeit!“ – gerade neben dem Abi ist das sehr gut, wenn ich so selbst bestimmen kann – und auch relativ spontan. Ähm... Urlaub ist auch immer wichtig. Vielleicht auch mal so’n „Spontanurlaub“... einfach mal das Wochenende wegfahren - das war auch jetzt in letzter Zeit nen paar Mal – das tut auch immer gut! Äh Feier ist auch wichtig, so zum Ausgleich zum Abitur; dass man nicht immer nur lernt, sondern auch einfach mal komplett abschalten kann. Ähm, Handy ist auch wichtig, weil sonst könnte man das Feiern vielleicht gar nicht planen oder man könnte sich nicht mit den anderen Freunden verabreden. Ich glaub das Pferd war auch immer noch wichtig, einfach weil man dann noch mal in ne andere Richtung abschalten konnte. Man ist ja jedes Mal in der Natur und es ist einfach ne unglaubliche Ruhe –</p>	<p>things/people. Then come her best friend, car and sleeping, then more friends. The grandmother is mentioned. Work is not as important at the moment though it is important as she needs the income.</p> <p>I: Are you working at the moment?</p> <p>R: Yes</p> <p>I: What do you do?</p> <p>R: she works in a small café, which is nice and she can arrange her times to suit her. Holidays are also important- especially spontaneous holidays when she can take off for the weekend in her bus, as she has done recently a few times just to get away.</p> <p>Partying is also important as a balance to the exams- when when she can turn off and have a break from learning. Her mobile phone is also important so that the parties can be arranged at short notice.</p> <p>Her horse is still important because it provides a different opportunity to turn off- by being in nature where</p>		
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gerad wenn man dann mit dem Pferd ausreiten geht. Ähm...	it totally peaceful just riding.		
<p>I: Haben sie das Pferd noch? R: Ja, aber es ist nicht mein eigenes. Das ist eine Reitbeteiligung. I: Und reiten sie noch regelmäßig? R: Das hat sehr stark abgenommen, gerade mit dem Abitur – das ist einfach echt... weil wenn man zum Pferd geht, dann muss man mindestens so 3 Stunden einrechnen und die hat man einfach meistens nicht! Und manchmal war's dann einfach vielleicht auch nicht, dass ich geritten bin, sondern dass ich mit dem Pferd spazieren gegangen bin. Das hat auch schon meistens gereicht. Ähm... ja, Sport ist weiter außerhalb, aber es ist wichtig, weil ich es ja auch im Abitur gewählt hab. Deswegen war ich fast ein bisschen gezwungen und ja... das musste halt auch ab und zu sein. „Shoppen“ ist auch nicht mehr so wichtig geworden – ähm – weil ... I: Also war es einmal wichtiger? R: Es war mal wichtiger... früher... I: Warum war es früher wichtiger? R: Ähm, ja also ich glaub früher –also erst mal, weil man mehr Zeit hatte. Man konnte da – gerade wenn man mit Freunden... wusste man nicht, was man machen soll, also ist man Shoppen gegangen. Und jetzt kann ich einfach auch andere Sachen machen. I: Wenn sie „Shoppen“ sagen, meinen sie dann</p>	<p>I: Do you still have your horse? R: yes but it is not mine, I share it. I: And you still go riding regularly? R This has been much reduced because of the time involved. She moves on to talk about sport, this is further away on the card but still important because she chose to include sport as one of her exam subjects- thus she was forced to do it. Shopping is also not as important as it was I: was it more important before? R: its was more important earlier. I: why? R: firstly because she had more time, one could meet with friends when one didn't know what to do, so they went shopping. Now she can do other things.</p>	<p>I pursue this because I know that horse riding is important in her life and I want to know what it is about that is important to her. Sport is done because it is part of her exam profile I didn't expect her to talk about shopping but thinking about Bauman's description of consuming and identity I encourage her to talk about this- it turns out that she has now grown out of this phase or at least knows how to structure her life more meaningfully?</p>	<p><u>She continues to give a clear account of her positions and how they have changed through exam pressure and maturity</u> <u>She has had to reduce many activities because of the exams but intends to take up some of them now they are over(e.g. reading)</u></p>

<p>damit, dass sie mit Freunden in die Stadt fahren, dort durch die Geschäfte gehen und sich die Dinge anschauen?</p> <p>R: Ja genau.</p> <p>I: Es geht also nicht darum gezielt etwas einzukaufen?</p> <p>R: Ne, darum geht's nicht, sondern dass man so „loströdeln“ oder so. Also ich bestell jetzt auch viel im Internet. Deswegen glaub ich auch, hat das abgenommen mit dem so „loslaufen“, aber es ist meistens glaub ich nen Zeitproblem.</p> <p>Ähm – Bücher lesen“ das ähm ist für mich nicht mehr so wich... - ähm also es wär für mich eigentlich viel wichtiger, wenn ich die Zeit hätte. Aber in letzter Zeit waren's dann doch nur Schulbücher... und ich hab zuhause einen ganz großen Stapel mit Büchern, die ich sofort nach dem Abitur alle lesen werde! Das hab ich mir schon vorgenommen!</p> <p>Äh „Laptop“ ist eigentlich eher nicht so wichtig, aber halt doch manchmal, wenn man – ich schreib auch gerne am Computer, weil's einfach schneller geht – einfach weil's... man kann's korrigieren. Aber man guckt auch gerne Filme oder so, weil Fernsehen ist für mich überhaupt nicht wichtig. Es ist einfach für mich sehr anstrengend mit der Werbung und so. Deswegen, wenn ich was guck, dann guck ich das meistens im Internet – deswegen ist Laptop mit drauf.</p>	<p>I: When you say shopping, do you mean that you met with friends in town and visited shops to see things?</p> <p>R: Yes exactly</p> <p>I: And it is not directly about purchasing?</p> <p>R: No that's not what its about, but rather that one sets off without a particular aim except to move 'on down'. That is why it has reduced because she doesn't time to just set off without a purpose. (she continues explaining the graphic) Reading books- that is also not as important but it had been previously. Recently she has only read school books but she a big pile of books she firmly intends to read after the exams.</p> <p>The laptop is also not as important as it was, she uses it to write texts and watch movies. TV is absolutely not important.</p>	<p>Fairly stupid question but I am trying to find out what the term shopping means- suspecting that it is about role playing</p> <p><i>Loströdeln means to set off on your sledge downhill- i.e. having no particular goal except to move down the slope</i></p> <p>The account goes longer than I intend and does not contribute much insight except into her level of clarity about <i>her preferences</i>.</p>	
<p>I: Dabei ist es ihnen wichtig, dass sie Zeit</p>	<p>I: Is it important to you that you determine your</p>	<p>I am trying get a clearer picture of her level of ecological agency- how</p>	

<p>und Film u.ä. selbst aussuchen können. R: Genau! Ohne Werbung - das ist mir wichtig! Genau, ich guck sehr gerne Filme und Serien, aber nicht so gerne im Fernsehen. Ähm, genau...</p> <p>I: Und die Werbung stört sie deshalb so sehr, weil sie den Film unterbricht? R: Ja! Und weil - ähm wenn ich, wenn ich nen Film guck, dann tauch ich richtig in die Welt ab, weil dann bin ich gerne da – und man ist ja richtig dann mitgenommen... und jedes Mal, wenn Werbung kommt, ist man wieder raus! Vor allem man schaltet dann meistens um und steigt dann wieder woanders ein – meistens guckt man sogar da dann vielleicht noch weiter (lach) – ja das nervt mich einfach unheimlich! Deshalb...</p> <p>I: Und ganz unabhängig von der Tatsache, dass Werbung den Film unterbricht; welche Wirkung hat Werbung im Allgemeinen? Und welche Wirkung hat Werbung auf sie? R: Also auf mich hat es die Wirkung, dass es mich nervt, aber ich denke generell ist es wahrscheinlich, dass es ein auch anregen soll etwas zu tun oder...</p> <p>I: Aber bei ihnen ist Werbung in dieser Hinsicht nicht effektiv? R: Nein, überhaupt nicht. Ich mag das überhaupt nicht. Auch wenn andere Fernseh gucken und da kommt Werbung – und ich sitze einfach nur daneben, auch wenn ich gar nicht guck...</p>	<p>time yourself and what films you watch?</p> <p>R: Exactly. Without advertising- that's why I don't watch TV.</p> <p>I: the advertising disturbs you and breaks up the film?</p> <p>R: Yes. She explains that when she watches a film she like to dive in deeply and give herself over to the story and not be distracted.</p> <p>I: Apart from interrupting the story, what effect does advertising have on you generally?</p> <p>R: She says it annoys her, though it is supposed to stimulate her to purchase.</p> <p>I. So advertising is not very effective with you?</p>	<p>much she shapes her own life. None of the other participants has gone into such depth about the positioning- and I was uncertain what I am getting out of it for my research question-her level of self-determination – she is certainly determined to give a full account of her positions.</p> <p>I take up the point about advertising because it seems to be about agency to resist- she shows that she can resist very well.</p>	<p><u>She says she can resist the suggestive forces of advertising</u></p>
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<p>I: Und wie ist es mit Werbung in Zeitschriften oder so? R: Also das kann ich gut ausblenden – auch im Internet kommt auch oft Werbung, aber das ist nicht so laut! Ich mag das Laute nicht. Werbung wird, glaube ich, auch oft lauter... lauter als der Film – also im Fernsehen. Ne, das mag ich überhaupt nicht.</p>	<p>R: No definitely not, when she sees it she looks away.</p> <p>I: What about advertising in newspapers and magazines?</p> <p>R: She says that she can filter that out, also in the internet, even though it gets louder.</p>		
<p>I: Ok, das war ein interessanter Abstecher! So dann... R: Dann hab ich noch „Essen“ I: Ja, „Essen und Schlafen“. R: Ja das ist auch sehr wichtig... dass man das immer macht – und ich koch auch gerne... I: Ist die Qualität des Essens für sie wichtig? R: Ja, sehr wichtig! Zuhause haben wir das auch so eingeteilt, dass wir – jetzt ist ne Freundin von meiner Mutter eingezogen, wir wohnen praktisch, wie in ner WG – und jeder hat einen „Kochtag“. Also jeder muss einmal – einmal mindestens in der Woche kochen und wenn man dann die ganze Woche Zeit hat, sich darauf vorzubereiten, dann kann man wirklich mal was Schönes kochen; das macht dann auch Spaß und dann sitzen alle zusammen am Tisch. Das ist ja auch noch mal schön!</p>	<p>I: OK that was an interesting diversion, can we...</p> <p>R: then we have “eating”</p> <p>I. Yes eating and sleeping</p> <p>R: Yes that is very important- she likes cooking</p> <p>I: Is the quality of eating important?</p> <p>E: yes it is very important. She tells me that she lives with her mother and her mother’s girl friend like students in a living community and each of them has a cooking day and can prepare for it the whole week and cook something special. She enjoys this when they all sit together at the table.</p>	<p>I try to change the subject away from the second graphic but she is determined to explain every post-it...</p> <p>It turns out that she lives in a kind of community with her mother and her friend- a kind of grown-up family life- shows a degree of emancipation from parent-child family relationships.</p>	
<p>I: Ich gucke nur, ob das Gerät auch weiterhin aufnimmt!</p>	<p>I: (I check that the recorder is still recording) That you for the explanations. Do you</p>		<p><u>She is aware that the phase of school is over and is no longer central in her life</u></p>

<p>Ja, dann danke für die Erläuterungen! Meinen sie, dass diese Darstellung momentan so relativ konstant ist? Würden sie dieselben Fragen auch morgen oder in einer Woche noch genauso beantworten?</p> <p>R: Ja, ich würde wahrscheinlich die Schule dann irgendwo weiter raus...</p> <p>I: Ja, die Schule wäre dann weiter weg.</p> <p>R: Aber sonst glaube ich, ist das relativ konstant. Ja!</p> <p>I: OK, gut! Dann kommen wir jetzt zum dritten Bild. Hier steht geht es nun um das schulische Lernen. Können sie das alles ein bisschen erläutern. Was haben sie dabei gedacht und erlebt?</p> <p>R: Ja, also äh – am wichtigsten war mir die Jahresarbeit, weil da hab ich ja auch mein Auto umgebaut und das hat einfach jetzt dazu beigetragen, dass ich mit dem Auto ganz viel unternehmen kann. Zudem fand ich - vor allem der Vortrag hat mir wahnsinnig Spaß gemacht, weil ich hatte wirklich ne Jahresarbeit, die –ähm- wo ich wirklich viel Zeit investiert hab und ich glaube das ist auch für die Leute mal was anderes war – dieser „Bus-Umbau“ war das ja. Und äh – ich hab das so aufgebaut, dass wirklich am Anfang – der ganz furchtbar am Anfang aus... da war alles kaputt! Und ich hab das so aufgebaut, dass es wirklich chronologisch gezeigt wurde und am Ende kam wirklich dieser „Wow-Effekt“. Und das hab ich wirklich total genossen, dass ich</p>	<p>think this presentation is relatively constant? Would answer the same question tomorrow or next week the same way?</p> <p>R: “Yes , though I move school further away”</p> <p>I: The school would be further away?</p> <p>R: Yes but otherwise I think the picture is relatively constant.</p> <p>I: Ok good. Then let us come to the third picture. Here it was about learning in school related situations. Could you explain this a bit please. What did you experience when did this?</p> <p>R: The most important thing was the class independent project because she restored her VW bus and that has enabled her to do many more things. Apart from the work she had great fun making her presentation. Her Bus-renovation was something people did not expect. The bus was in a very bad state when she started. Almost everything was broken, so at the end the effect was very impressive. She was so proud and happy to present this because normally she would not stand before the public.</p>	<p>She explains the whole 3rd graphic without any further prompting from me</p>	<p><u>The class project was most important because it opened up new possibilities and she enjoyed presenting the project very much</u></p> <p><u>The work was very rewarding for her and her self-confidence</u></p>
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<p>auch da vorne stand und – also ich mag das sowieso eigentlich ganz gerne... sonst wär‘ ich vielleicht auch nicht hier. Aber dann, ja... der Vortrag hat mir auch gut gefallen und die Arbeit natürlich auch!</p> <p>Dann hab ich noch das Klassenspiel. Das war jetzt vor allem das 12.Klassspiel -das andere weiß ich gar nicht mehr so richtig – das fand ich auch sehr gut. Da hatte ich auch ne tolle Rolle; die, die ich gewollt habe. Das war ne ganz verrückte Rolle und man konnte wirklich sich da so’n bisschen ausleben auch. Da hab ich auch gemerkt, dass mir das Theaterspielen ganz viel gebracht hat und es war total lustig. Und vor allem da spielt auch die Klassengemeinschaft mit rein. Da hatten wir einfach ne ganz tolle Zeit. Da stand einfach dieses Beisammensein und dieses... ja und dieses Spielen - das war total lustig – das stand da einfach so im Mittelpunkt. Und ich glaub deswegen hab ich damit auch gute Erinnerungen, weil das einfach auch von den Leuten her ne ganz tolle Zeit war. Immer wenn man Pause hatte oder man musste zusammen was anfertigen, dann hatte man immer viel Spaß!</p> <p>Genau und auch zur Klassengemeinschaft kann ich auch noch mal sagen. Das hat sich jetzt im Abitur ganz doll geändert. Also vorher war das immer bei uns so’n bisschen – jeder war so in kleinen Gruppen und das war einfach seit der ersten Klasse, weil wir schon</p>	<p>The next thing was the class 12 play, which was very good experience. She had a great role, which she had wanted to play. The role was crazy and she could really let herself go in playing it. She discovered how much she enjoyed doing theatre. The whole class community took part. It was great time and the being-together in the community was at the centre of the activity. That is why she has such good memories of because it was such fun and engaging and there were always so many things to do.</p>	<p>She keeps expressing how much she enjoyed these activities (<i>viel Spaß</i>) shows great enthusiasm and animation when talking about all these learning situations</p> <p>Sees people in her class with new eyes- empathy</p>	<p><u>The class play was very important and memorable because it was fun, involved the class community and they were fully occupied</u></p> <p><u>She is aware of the social dynamic in her class community and welcomes the chance to</u></p>
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<p>so lange – dann kennt man immer die gleichen Leute und bei denen ist man dann. Und jetzt im Abitur wurden wir ja „gezwungenermaßen“ wegen den Fächern aufgeteilt; je nachdem, was wir gewählt haben. Und auf einmal wurden wir wieder neu durchgemischt und das war total spannend. Ich hab ganz viele, mit denen ich schon seit 13 Jahren in einer Klasse bin, habe ich jetzt auf einmal neu kennengelernt – und das tat mir richtig gut. Also ich fand’s wirklich – also man hat sich einfach noch mal anders kennengelernt, auch die andern Menschen und ähm, ja das auf jeden Fall.</p> <p>Dann hab ich noch das Betriebspraktikum. Das hab ich in einer Verhaltenstherapie, Falkenried, in Hamburg gemacht. Und das ist fast nen bisschen ähnlich wie das Sozialpraktikum gewesen. Und das hat mich sehr geprägt, weil ich dadurch für mich entschlossen hab, dass ich auch in diesem Bereich arbeiten möchte. Ähm, ich durfte da ganz viel mitmachen; auch bei Therapiestunden dabei sein, auch bei Gruppentherapien, die fast nen bisschen mit leiten. Ich hatte ganz viel Verantwortung auf einmal - das war echt super. Das hätte ich auch nicht gedacht. Aber das hat echt Spaß gemacht da.</p> <p>Und so war’s auch beim Sozialpraktikum. Das hab ich im Krankenhaus gemacht. Da war ich in verschiedenen Bereichen und da hat mir tatsächlich der Bereich im Service – also dass</p>	<p>The class community was the next point. That has changed strongly during the exam period. Previously the class had included lots of groups that they chose themselves who had been friends since the first class. Now in the Abitur theses groups are forced to break up into separate subject groups. Suddenly they were with different people, which was quite exciting. Now she got to know people she had been in the same class with for 13 years but now she was able to get to know them in a new way. She says that did her good to break out of her clique.</p>	<p>She obviously has a strong experience of the practices, even though she is only a ‘sojourner’ (in landscapes of practice)</p>	<p><u>get to know people in a different way whom she has known for a long time</u></p> <p><u>empathy</u></p> <p><u>She was strongly influenced by the experience in the work placement</u></p>
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<p>man immer an die Leute ran gekommen ist – man hat denen halt Essen gebracht – das hat mir am besten gefallen, weil man konnte sich wirklich gut mit denen immer unterhalten. Die hatten ja auch dementsprechend nen bisschen Langeweile da. Und das hat wirklich auch total Spaß gemacht da.</p> <p>Das Landbaupraktikum war bei mir auch sehr prägend, weil das war nicht wirklich ... das war eher so'n bisschen wie „Aupair“ – ich hab mich mehr um die Kinder gekümmert, als um den Hof. Und da hab ich dann total viel mitgenommen, weil ich mich halt – ich weiß nicht – so für die Zukunft! Ich hab da gelernt zu kochen. Ich hab da gelernt mit den Kindern umzugehen – also ich hab da mehr so... ich glaub, es war ein bisschen anders, als jetzt ähm, bei den anderen, die wirklich viel auf dem Hof mit angepackt haben. Aber ich glaube, dass ich für's Leben wichtigere Sachen gelernt hat, einfach indem ich da ähm – die Bäuerin war immer ganz froh, sie konnte in der Zeit ihren Papierkram und so erledigen. Der Bauer – es war ein ganz kleiner Hof, deshalb ging das... und in der Zeit hab ich mich einfach um – das waren zwei kleine Kinder; ein Baby und ein Zweijähriger – hab ich mich einfach mit denen ... war ich einkaufen und so und hab die auch abends ins Bett gebracht, während die Bäuerin ihre Freizeit genossen hat. Aber es war für mich – also es</p>	<p>Then she talks about the work experience she did (in class 10). She worked in an organization who employs people with behavioural problems, which was like a social practical. She was very impressed by this experience and it helped her to recognize that she wants to work in social care. She was given a lot of responsibility and ran workshops and group therapy sessions. She enjoyed that experience</p> <p>Now she talks about her social work placement in a hospital, where she worked in various areas but mostly in service-ensuring that patients got to their appointments on time and were got their meals. She was able to communicate with the patients very well and was able to help them overcome their boredom. She really enjoyed doing that.</p> <p>The farming practical was also very formative for her. She didn't so much work on the farm as be an au pair for the farmer's family, looking after children. She learned a lot of skills</p>	<p>She feels she could make a real contribution and also understand the situation people were in. Again we see how much she enjoyed the work, her role and the challenges.</p> <p>Again she found herself usefully occupied in her farming practical. She learned and discovered how useful she could be.</p>	<p><u>She was able to be empathic in the hospital and help people</u></p> <p><u>She experienced that she could make an important contribution and also learn many important things for life during the farming work experience</u></p> <p><u>Looking back she can empathize with the farmer and family</u></p>
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<p>war total ok. Also ich glaub, da hab ich sehr viel mitgenommen – einfach in dieser Familie mit zu sein und da mit zu wohnen und alles mitzumachen. Ähm, ja ich glaub das waren so die wichtigsten. Dann geht es weiter mit Biologie. Das ist eigentlich für mich mein, ähm, Lieblingsfach, weil (pause) ähm, weil ich finde es ist tausendmal logischer als Mathe und ich kann da viel mehr – also ich kann da viel mehr verstehen. Ich kann die Prozesse viel mehr nachempfinden, als jetzt... - ich nimm immer Mathe als Vergleich, weil beides baut so aufeinander auf. Andere finden Mathe logisch und ich find Biologie aber viel logischer, diese Prozesse. Das ist echt – find ich auch wahnsinnig interessant. Und ähm, aber ja... Mathe find ich auch relativ wichtig. Also ich denk mal, das was wir jetzt im Abitur gemacht haben, das werde ich nicht mehr in Zukunft anwenden können, aber ähm, ich glaub schon gerade die grundlegenden Sachen; dass viel im Leben darauf aufbaut und dass das einfach wichtig ist, das zu können – genauso wie mit Englisch. Ich glaub auch, dass man Englisch – gerade wenn man viel verweist – dass einem das wirklich viel weiterbringt und das es gut ist, wenn man sich nen bisschen verständigen kann mit anderen Menschen. Ähm, Geografie hat mich sehr im Abitur überrascht, weil vorher war mir das eigentlich</p>	<p>that were useful for her future, such as cooking, looking after children. Indeed she would now deal with children quite differently. She says she learned some very important things for her life and she knew she able to really help the farmer's wife because it gave her the time to get all the paperwork done that farmers have to do. It was a small farm and there was so much to do. There were two small children to care for- she put them to bed, cooked, did the shopping and enabled the farmer's wife to have a little free time for herself. She did this very willingly.</p> <p>“ I feel that I was give´n so much by being able to be and to live with this family and participate.</p> <p>Those were the most important things for . Then she comes to biology which her favourite subject because she found it many times more logical than maths and she can understand much more. She says she can</p>	<p>Now she talks about subjects- biology vesus maths- biology is real and she can imagine the prcesses and it seems more relevant.</p> <p>English is useful! (bit depressing for an Englsih teacher who thinks his subject contributes to personal development and intercultural competence!)</p>	<p><u>She chooses subjects that she thinks are useful and relevant to her life</u></p>
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<p>überhaupt nicht richtig bewusst, was wir da unterrichtet bekommen. So'n bisschen ham' wir uns die Welt angeguckt... aber jetzt wurd' das richtig mh wirtschaftlich – gerade mit ähm, ja mit Globalisierung. Das war mir alles vorher überhaupt nicht vorher bewusst, was es da alles für Verbindungen gibt. Also das hat mich wirklich - das hat mich wirklich sehr überrascht und da bin ich echt froh, dass ich das noch mal im Abitur hatte. Weil sonst, wenn ich mir denke, dass wüsste ich jetzt alles nicht mit den ganze Bündnissen – das ist einfach, glaub ich, für die Allgemeinbildung sehr wichtig. Deshalb – also es war auch sehr schwer, aber ähm... auf jeden Fall gut. Deswegen hier „Wirtschaft“ hab ich ganz nach unten, weil das – ich glaub, wenn wir da mehr gemacht hätten – das hatten wir, glaub ich, aber nur zweimal – das hab ich überhaupt nicht mehr in Erinnerung. Ich denk, wenn wir's mehr gemacht hätten, hätt' ich's auch weiter oben. Aber da find ich – uns nicht so gut damit beschäftigt haben – ebenfalls wie Physik und Chemie! Also Physik hab ich noch nen bisschen war mitgenommen, aber nicht sehr viel – Chemie eigentlich gar nicht so viel, ne! Deswegen sind die auch relativ am Rand. Äh, Eurythmie denk ich – hab ich mein Leben lang gedacht, das bringt mir gar nichts. Aber wenn ich jetzt noch mal drauf zurück gucke,</p>	<p>imagine the processes much more in biology than in maths, though they are related- but she finds biology more logical. She experiences biological processes as real, though she recognizes that maths is relatively important. However the maths she has done in the Abitur she thinks she will never use again.</p> <p>Biology is about things that fundamental to understanding life.</p> <p>English is also very important because if you travel you can communicate with people.</p> <p>Geography surprised her during the Abitur year because she had previously not realized what an important subject it is, particularly the subject of globalisation. She thinks that is important for her general education (allgemein Bildung). Economics was quite interesting but there was too little of that.</p>		
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<p>denk ich schon, dass das war gebracht hat; gerade wie man sich gibt und wie man seinen Körper hält, weil's einfach einem viel bewusster geworden ist. Also ich denke es ist darauf zurückzuführen, weil man da gelernt hat, wie man sich ganz bewusst bewegen kann. Also das ähm, (pause)...</p> <p>Dann ähm, Musik ist relativ am Rand, obwohl es ja an unserer Schule – wie Orchester auch – sehr eigentlich, sehr bewusst vermittelt wird und wir soll' das ja auch lernen. Aber es hat mich einfach nie so mitgerissen oder interessiert und verstanden hab ich's auch nicht so richtig, ja.</p>	<p>She says she took little from physics and chemistry.</p> <p>Though she never understood why they did Eurythmy now when she looks back on it she can</p>		
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	<p>see that it has made her much more conscious of her body.</p> <p>Music was always important in the school though she has put it near the edge because she didn't feel particularly engaged by it.</p>		
<p>I: Danke! Könnte ich nun noch einmal zu dem Thema Jahresarbeit zurückkommen. Sie haben da zum einen das Projekt beschrieben, aber dann haben sie auch gleich erwähnt, dass das Vortragen sehr wichtig war. Gilt diese Betonung auch für den ganzen schriftlichen Teil, sprich: die Dokumentation und die anschließende Reflexion? War Ihnen dieser Aspekt auch wichtig?</p> <p>R: Ja, für mich war das sehr wichtig. Ich glaub, ich hab an die 56 Seiten geschrieben – also natürlich mit Fotos.</p> <p>Aber es war mir sehr wichtig, dass ich das für</p>	<p>Thanks you. Can we return to the class 12 project. You described the project and then you mentioned that the presentation was so important for you. Does this could for the written documentation and reflection of your work experience and projects? Was this aspect also important?</p> <p>R: "Yes for me it was very important.</p>	<p>She doesn't pick up on my general question but is still with her class 12 project and its documentation</p>	<p><u>The documentation of her project is something she can use in future to remember what she did to learn from</u></p>

<p>mich einfach auch – weil es war einfach was Großes, was ich für mich gemacht habe und ich glaub ich hab mir das auch gut weggeheftet, weil ich weiß: „da möchte ich später noch mal reingucken“ oder vielleicht „ich möchte das noch mal wiederholen, ich kann draus lernen“ – gerade aus diesem schriftlichen Teil und auch die Fotos. Ähm ich hab da auch einfach ganz viel handwerklich gemacht. Ich hab da genäht, ich hab da am Auto geschweißt... einfach alles Mögliche. Und einfach, um das nicht zu vergessen, hab ich gut alles aufgeschrieben und kann das jeder Zeit wiederholen. Das ist total gut! Ähm, ja sonst genau... I: Sie hatten vorhin auch kurz gesagt, das Klassenspiel hätte ihnen viel gebracht. Könnten sie dazu noch ein bisschen mehr sagen? R: Ja, also ich glaube ... für mich ... (pause) ähm, hat es auch ein bisschen Selbstbewusst sein gebracht, weil ich hatte so ne ganz verrückte Rolle und ich musste auch in meine Rolle einen Vortrag halten. Und ich hab das wirklich so versucht, so auszukosten, weil das eigentlich total Spaß gemacht hat. Gerade weil – wenn man noch mal in ner Rolle ist, ist man noch mal „geschützt“, man ist ja eigentlich diese Rolle gerade. Deshalb – also das soll jetzt nicht heißen, dass man sich verstecken soll oder so – aber es hat einfach für einen selber so, noch</p>	<p>I believe I wrote 56 pages. Naturally with photos” She says it was important for her because it was something big and she will keep it and look at it in future and “I want to recall what I did and learn from it... I did so much that I don’t want to forget it “. She then lists all the skills she used in restoring her bus. I: You said that the class play gave you a lot. Could say a bit more about that please? R: “I think it gave me some self-consciousness because I had such a crazy role”. She says that she really tried to get the most out of the situation of acting because when you are playing a role you are somehow protected because you become the role. It gives you the possibility to slip into another role/identity and behave differently. It</p>		<p><u>Playing a role in play means trying out a different role that is not you but you give yourself over to it</u> <u>Really getting into a role means changing how you are and this change of role offers a chance to be seen as someone else and also to show others what one can do</u></p>
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<p>mal so gezeigt, dass es auch so ne Möglichkeit ist, dass man in verschiedenen Rollen schlüpfen kann und sich dann auch anders verhält. Also ich glaub auch, dass viel vielleicht auch die Kleidung dazu beigetragen hat. Das man sich auch anders gefühlt hat; man war wirklich in ner anderen Rolle und man hat sich irgendwie ja anders verhalten und ja. Und auch gegenüber von meine Klassenkameraden, war's auch wieder so ne Möglichkeit, mich auch wieder so „zu beweisen“, weil ich hab das glaub ich ganz gut gespielt und dann ist es ja für die anderen auch ein Zeichen, dass ich auch was machen kann, umsetzen kann. So war es auch, wenn ich bei anderen gesehen hab, die nehmen das jetzt überhaupt nicht ernst... oder die können das nicht so umsetzen, obwohl sie's eigentlich könnten, aber sie wolln's gar nicht erst..., das weiß ich nicht ... das fand ich auch nicht so gut und dann denk ich mir, das es eigentlich für alle sehr wichtig war, das umzusetzen.</p> <p>I: Ja, vielen Dank. Ich glaube das war's. Das war sehr reichhaltig!</p>	<p>helps to wear a costume. “that one feels different, that one really is different and behaves differently. It was also an opportunity to prove myself to my class mates, let them see me differently. I think I played the role well, and then the others see what you can do”. She notes that not everyone engaged to this extent and this showed in the quality of their performance. She say how impportnat it is to make this transformation for the benefit of everyone.</p> <p>I: thank you very much- that was very rewarding!</p>		

Superordinated themes No 12.

Biographical awareness/biographicality/ biographical learning	Positioning /relationships and her position within them/ empathy	agency	Semi-formal learning	Reflexion	Aspirations/imagination of will
<p><u>She represents her life along the sides of a river that is central to the picture, the sides of the river represent different sides of her life- biographical awareness and positioning</u></p> <p><u>She shows a clear awareness of age-related activities (kindergarten, entry to school, the age at which one starts partying)</u></p> <p><u>She identifies what belongs to her life path (here the bus and travelling in France)- shows biographical awareness</u></p> <p><u>She has a clear life construct and can determine what belongs to it and what not, and uses this to guide her life (when to be alone, where to go)- evidence of biographical learning?</u></p> <p><u>The picture is coherent and consistent with her narrative</u></p>	<p><u>She positions herself in relation to her split family and the various constellations of friendship at school</u></p> <p><u>A clear analysis of changing relationships in the class in a matter of fact way showing some detachment or distance</u></p> <p><u>She gives a detailed account of her current positions in relation to people and activities</u></p> <p><u>She continues to give a clear account of her positions and how they have changed through exam pressure and maturity</u></p> <p><u>She is aware that the phase of school is over and is no longer</u></p>	<p><u>Her VW bus is freedom for, she can go where she wants- it is an expression of her agency</u></p> <p><u>She says she can resist the suggestive forces of advertising</u></p>	<p><u>Social practical contributed to her decision to study social pedagogy</u></p> <p><u>The class project was most important because it opened up new possibilities and she enjoyed presenting the project very much</u></p> <p><u>The work was very rewarding for her and her self-confidence</u></p> <p><u>The class play was very important and memorable because it was fun, involved the class community and they were fully occupied</u></p> <p><u>She was strongly influenced by the experience in the work placement</u></p>	<p><u>The documentation of her project is something she can use in future to remember what she did to learn from</u></p>	<p><u>She refers to her future planning still in terms of the picture</u></p> <p><u>Her vision of the future is primarily the continuation of her existing social relationships</u></p> <p><u>Has a plan to become a social worker</u></p> <p><u>She has had to reduce many activities because of the exams but intends to take up some of them now they are over(e.g. reading)</u></p>

	<p><u>central in her life</u></p> <p><u>She is aware of the social dynamic in her class community and welcomes the chance to get to know people in a different way whom she has known for a long time</u></p> <p><u>empathy</u></p> <p><u>Looking back she can empathize with the farmer and family</u></p> <p><u>Playing a role in play means trying out a different role that is not you but you give yourself over to it</u></p>		<p><u>She was able to be empathic in the hospital and help people</u></p> <p><u>She experienced that she could make an important contribution and also learn many important things for life during the farming work experience</u></p> <p><u>She chooses subjects that she thinks are useful and relevant to her life</u></p> <p><u>Really getting into a role means changing how you are and this change of role offers a chance to be seen as someone else and also to show others what one can do</u></p>	
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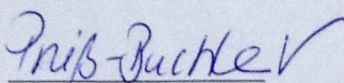
Datum
12.02.2015

To whom it may concern:

As an external judge for validity issues in a qualitative research process, I read parts of the work of Martyn Rawson (working title: "An inquiry into biographical learning in young adults based on a qualitative study on 12 nineteen year old students at the end of their schooling in a Waldorf school in Germany"). I assessed two interviews and their interpretations.

I could easily comprehend the transcriptions from interviewees speaking German to the report form in English. In this step Martyn Rawson formed meaning units, which are excellently outlined. I understood the transformation to explanatory comments and reconstructed the substance of the developed themes.

Martyn Rawson has condensed significant parts of the interviews to themes. It seems that the themes are tightly connected to the research questions. Therefore, their appearance manifestly results from two interpretational links: one resulting from the interview data, another resulting from Rawsons' research perspective. Overall I assessed a profound transcription and transformation. I judge the interpretation I read as valid.


Dr. Julia Prieß-Buchheit

Appendix 9 Letters from the two external judges

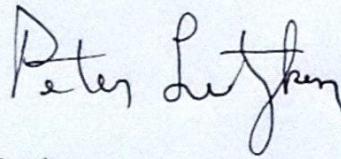
Freie Hochschule Stuttgart Seminar für Waldorfpädagogik

Stuttgart, September 12, 2015

Evaluation of Research and Analysis

I have been asked to assess and judge the plausibility and coherence of Martyn Rawson's analysis of his research in his study of biographical learning in a Waldorf school in conjunction with his doctoral thesis.

Having examined an extensive sample of his data and his analysis of this section, I have found Mr. Rawson's analysis and discussion of his data to fully plausible. Both his analysis and the conclusions he has drawn from it, are well-founded and wholly coherent.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Peter Lutzker". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'P' and a long, sweeping underline.

Prof. Dr. Peter Lutzker

Appendix 10. Three example of written reflections written by Adele, Maybritt and Nicola

Adele

Children learn what they live

If children are criticized by everyone, they get a pessimistic attitude.

Example: When the parents are never satisfied, their children also won't be.

If children only experience refusal, they learn to react and behave violently.

Example: if the parents treat their children with violence, the children learn to defend themselves and maybe will also be harsh.

If children live in an atmosphere of fear, they will often be worried.

Example: If the will be filled with fear when looking at a spider, the child will act the same.

If people in the child's environment have self-pity, the child will act the same way.

Example: If the parents always say "we are too poor!", the child will think, that she will be poor the whole live.

If children get bullied, they lose their self-confidence.

Example: If someone gets bullied, he starts to get more and more into his own.

If children are surrounded by jealousy, they become envy.

Example: If parents do not love their children equally siblings start to get jealous of each other.

If children are blamed, they learn to believe it.

Example: if everyone in the family puts the shame on the child she will feel guilty no matter if it is right.

If children get elated, they will trust in themselves.

Example: If the father tells his son not to give up, he will try again and again.

If children become tolerated, they learn to tolerate other people.

Example: If the little Turkish boy is accepted by his German schoolmates, he will tolerate the little Russian boys. (with the sense of being humour.)

If children become praised, they will learn to have a positive view at others.

Example: If Thomas mother praises him for high marks, he will appreciate her dish washing.

If children experience acceptance they learn that everybody deserves warm feelings.

Example: Since George was played in a music group, he realizes that the other members are worth caring about.

12. If children become accepted, they learn to recognize what they do by themselves.

Example: If George makes a good thing and his mother recognizes this, he will be proud of himself.

If children are recognized they learn that it is good to make things they become praised for.

Example: If Jimmy scores a goal in a football match and his mother is proud of him, he will try to score more goals.

If children learn how to share, they will begin to like it.

Example: Saint Martins father always share what he had and so Saint Martin himself learned to do that and began to love it.

If the children's parents are honest, their child will learn to be truthful.

Example: If the mother teaches his son to always say the truth, he will tell her that she needs a new haircut.

If children live in an atmosphere of fair justice, they will learn to act the same way.

Example: If the mother teaches her daughter to be fair, the daughter will be fair to her friends.

If children are treated with care and lovingly they learn to demonstrate respect for other people.

Example: If Peters parents treat their son nicely and with consideration, he will learn, that it is good to treat someone with respect.

If children get protected, they will learn to feel safe and to have confidence in something.

Example: John got help during the swimming lessons. Now he feels safe, John is now able to swim alone.

If children get treated with pleasant, they like their environment and they appreciate life

Example: Matt's Mother spends so much love to her son, that he always has a positive attitude and that he is happy to live on the planet earth.

Why did I chose this peace of work?

First it is important to say that I create this article in cooperation with Pauli. The first five points we did together and then we spilt the points and any of us did it at home. Afterwards we compared and discussed our outcomes. So you see a individual work of Pauli and me.

I chose this peace of work because it shows the important and mainly moral qualities and maybe happened faults in the upbringing of children. The text is about the abilities everyone should have. For example the ability to share, to love, to praise, to accept each other, to protect, to be honest and to be faithful. And the text shows faults you should not make. For example to criticize to much, to be violent, to create a atmosphere of fear, to put all the blame on the child etc.

Friendship

[Maybritt]

A lot of people think, the family ~~an~~ the parents are the main important factor for a child.

But I think, the friends are also important for the development of a child.

It begins when children are born when they get in touch with other babies, they try to communicate and share feelings for example, when one baby cries and another baby hears it, often she begins to cry too.

So the friendship begins.

Through friendship children get to know other families and other social surroundings.

This is really important for them,

because they learn to worship what they have at their homes, for example, good relationship with their parents or enough money to buy toys or food, or furniture and they see the big differences in the most households.

A friendship gives children also the optimal chance to learn social abilities, solve problems and make compromises independently.

Additionally the children can speak with friends about problems or other things which are hard to relate and they don't want to tell other people or

their parents.

They make new experiences together and get to know adventures which are not always positive, but for that are children children, and so they get to know their limits and learn not to do the same mistakes again. But in every friendship it gives conflicts and I more often by children.

This is not always negative than so the children learn to forgive each other or don't spend more time with a person who is not good for them. I think a big point while the growing up is to learn to share and in a friendship the children to share often and so they learn in an a good way. A good friendship is really important for every people.

I chose the aspect "friendship" of childhood, because my friends are one of the main part in my life. Often when I have problems, I can't speak with my family about it and my friend help me in every situation.

Religion

Once upon a time a little girl called Fatima moved with her family from a rural area in Turkey to London, England because her father got a job there. She has a older sister who she always had to play puppets with. She grow up and went to a Turkish school. When she was sixteen the school closed that's why she had to go on a state school. There she met a girl who was called Sarah. Fatima and Sarah had to do a task together therefore they met each other and become friends. Sarah was bigoted and focused on Rugby and are always playing Rugby with her older brothers. Fatima often went to Sarah because she began to love Rugby like Sarah and her family. At home Fatima could show her love for Rugby because her family was the opinion that women had to stay at home. After a time Sarah took Fatima with to the Rugby training. Fatima had much fun and the trainer was a cutie-pie. She began to go regularly to the training but her parents had no idea. But one day she had an accident. She fractured her leg. It was one week before her sisters wedding. Her parents lost control and said, Fatima was a shame for the family. She had to make a decision between her friend Sarah, her trainer who meanwhile had become her boyfriend, and her family. She decided that she couldn't stay by her family consequently she didn't see Sarah again. Apart from this she had to go to another Turkish school.

She finished school and began to advocate for the rights of women especially in connection with sports. She met other feminists and built a school for girls with her religion where they could learn but are also able to practise the sports they liked. The school is for free. Now Fatima is 40 years old and a Rugby trainer for girls with her religion.

This is just a story I made myself but I've done my social work experience at a school in Hamburg and there I experienced a story similar to my imagination. Unfortunately a lot girls have experienced such a "discrimination" through their religion or rather much worse things. It is just one aspect which influences a child during he or she is growing up. I'm the opinion that faith isn't bad as long as the children are able to decisions on their own.